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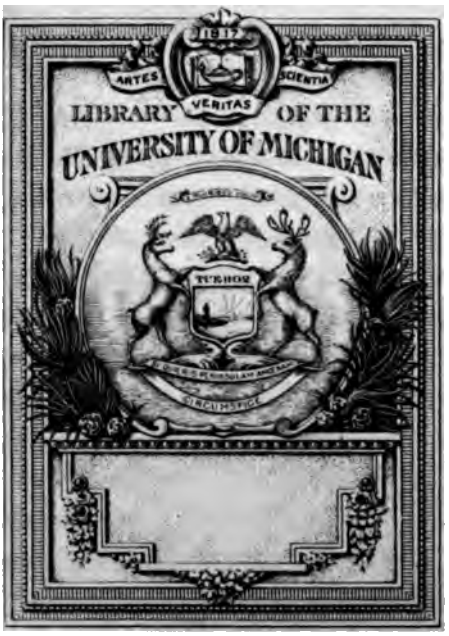
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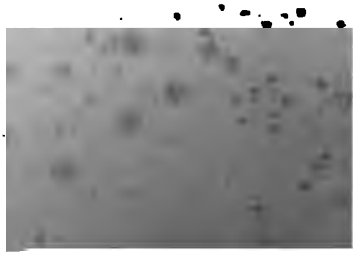

TRAVELS IN INDIA

BY

JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER

BARON OF AUBONNE

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BARON OF AUBONNE

Dressed in the Robes of Honour presented to him by the Shah of Persia

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JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER

BARON OF AUBONNE

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH EDITION OF 1676

WITH A

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR,
NOTES, APPENDICES, ETC.

BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES

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PREFACE

In the course of the preparation of a work of so diversified and complex a character as this, it is almost certain to be the case that, even up to the last moment before publication, matter bearing upon the subject comes to hand. The present occasion, so far from forming an exception to the rule, exemplifies it in a very remarkable degree. The subjects upon which additional information has been acquired during the progress of the printing of these volumes are many; but there are some in particular which deserve special notice, to which it may therefore be well to call attention here.

Through the kindness of Prof. Joret I have received a pamphlet, written by himself, entitled *Le Voyageur Tavernier* (1670-1689), in which he has pursued his investigations as to the events of the last twenty years of Tavernier's life. As some of these confirm while others modify the conclusions set forth in the Introduction to vol. i, it is desirable to notice them briefly.

Prof. Joret describes his examination of the original manuscripts of Tavernier's *Memoirs*, which are in the possession of M. Schefer at his Chateau of St. Alban near Chambéry. Without entering into details, it

may be said that they completely confirm the view expressed in the Introduction, that the material made use of by Chappuzeau was largely documentary; that it could have been communicated orally by dictation, the internal evidence, as it appeared to me, sufficiently disproved.

Chappuzeau's work consisted in giving a literary style, such as it was, to Tavernier's simple and rough notes; but in this work Tavernier himself very possibly assisted. These MS. *Memoirs* contain some details not included in the *Travels*, such as personal expenses and other minor day-to-day notes. The death of M. Ardilliére, a subject of some confusion (see p. 159 *n*), is fixed by the original record as having taken place on the 12th December 1652. And Tavernier's arrival at Ispahan in 1654 was on the 9th of July, not in May as previously supposed.

It is hoped that this original text may be published, as it would seem, from the glimpse of it thus given by Prof. Joret, that it would to a great extent aid in co-ordinating various statements in the published *Travels* which are now contradictory.

The suggestion that J. B. Tavernier had been imprisoned in the Bastille on the 13th January 1686 is now shown[1] to be a mistake, and that it was a namesake of his, a Tavernier of Villiers-le-Bel, who was so incarcerated.

Passing the important additional information obtained as to Tavernier's relations with the Elector of Brandenburg, we find that Prof. Joret has reason for concluding that the discovery of the supposed

[1] M. Douen in *Bulletin de la Société du Protestantisme Français*, vol. xxxiv, 1887, p. 95.

tombstone of Tavernier at Moscow is of a somewhat mythical character; but, be that as it may, an important letter from the Swedish Resident at Moscow, dated 8th March 1689, has been discovered, by which the Swedish Chancellor was informed that Tavernier had died three weeks previously, not at Moscow, but at Smolensk, when on his journey to Moscow.

In Book II, chap. xxi (vol. ii, p. 122) a table is given showing the ratio between carats and a weight called *chegos*, which was used by the Portuguese in the pearl trade. I was unable to explain this table; but since it has been in type I have shown it to Mr. A. Rambaut, Assistant to the Astronomer Royal for Ireland, who has very kindly given me what appears to be a completely adequate explanation of its construction, as follows:—For the first six equivalents the equation $y = 3 + 1\frac{3}{4}x + \frac{3}{8}x^2$, represents the relation where y = the number of *chegos* and x the number of carats, subject, however, to the condition that wherever an uneven number of eighths of a carat occurs one is rejected. If this rule is followed the precise figures of Tavernier's table are obtained.

From seven carats onwards a very simple rule is followed in order to obtain the number of *chegos*. It is to multiply the number of carats by 10, divide by 12, and square the result—thus $36 \times 10 \div 12 = 30$, which squared = 900. There is one exception to this rule in the case of 25 carats, which in the table is given as equal to 430 *chegos*, whereas it ought to be, when calculated as above, 434.05 *chegos*. This discrepancy is probably due to a misprint, so that the table should be corrected accordingly.

When in the course of these pages reference was

made to the Grand Duke of Tuscany's diamond, it was supposed that the weight given by Schrauf for this diamond, which is now in the Imperial Treasury in Austria, was to be accepted as more correct than Tavernier's, but an examination of Schrauf's original papers shows that he really confirms Tavernier's weight for the stone in a very remarkable way. The present weight is 133⅛ Vienna carats, which are equal to 139⅛ of the lighter Florentine carats; and as Tavernier gives the weight at 139½ carats we are justified in concluding that in this case he used, and that in general he was probably in the habit of using, the Florentine carat = 0.1972 grams,[1] or 3.04 grs. troy, *i.e.* 4 per cent less than the English carat. The previous estimate of the value of the pearl *rati* given in Appendix, vol. i, having been calculated on the basis of ⅞ths of a modern English or French carat, amounted to 2.77 grs. troy; but as ⅞ths of a Florentine carat only amounts to 2.66 grs. troy, it seems probable that that would more closely approximate to the value of the pearl *rati* which was used in the weighment of jewels by Tavernier. From the discussion on the weight of Bábar's diamond given in Appendix I (p. 432) in this volume, it will be seen that there is independent testimony by Ferishta in favour of the view that 2.66 approximates more closely to the true value of the *rati* known to Tavernier and Ferishta. Other confirmatory evidence of this having been the value of the pearl *rati* will be found in the same Appendix.

A partial and preliminary notice of Tavernier's work has been referred to on p. 126 as having appeared

[1] Prof. Church, *Precious Stones*, p. 50, gives the value as 0.1965 grams.

in the *Philosophical Transactions*, to which it should be added that in the same journal abstracts of the contents of the first two volumes were subsequently published.[1]

The reader's attention is invited to the curious facts brought out in Appendix VI, from which it would appear that Chappuzeau obtained access to some of Tavernier's *Memoirs* while the latter was still absent on his last voyage. So far as I can ascertain it has never before been recognised that the *Histoire des Joyaux* and the English version of it, *The History of Jewels*, were founded on Tavernier's original *Memoirs*. This work serves to clear up several points commented on in the footnotes.

During a recent visit to Holland I ascertained that, as stated in the Bibliography (see vol. I, p. xlvi,) there is but one edition of Tavernier's Travels in the Dutch language. It was translated by J. H. Glazemaker, and published at Amsterdam in 1682. A copy of it which I obtained contains a number of engravings by Jan Luyken in addition to copies of the original plates in the French editions.

It is hoped that the present edition of Tavernier's Indian Travels, by drawing attention to the work, will hereafter lead to the further elucidation of many points of interest; and the Editor desires to intimate here, to those who may be willing to assist, that he will gratefully acknowledge all contributions on the subject which he may receive from readers of these volumes.

[1] No. 129, Nov. 20, 1676, p. 711; No. 130, Dec. 14, p. 751.

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The animal which produces musk.

Cobra di capello.

Banyan tree and Fakirs.

A Fakir.

Canjare (*Khánjar*), or dagger.

Marks on Batavian *reales*.

Note.—The Dutch Edition (see *ante*, p. xiii) contains some additional Plates.

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 53, note 1, also page 78, for identification of the fourth mine, see p. 476.

,, 94, line 18, *for* $1\frac{3}{4}$ *read* $1\frac{1}{4}$.

,, 97, note 2, for *Sol* 9d read *Sol* 0.9d.

,, 98, note, line 3, *for* $133\frac{1}{4}$ *read* $133\frac{1}{3}$.

,, 144, note, line 2, *for* of *read* in.

,, 159, note 1, line 11, *for* pp. 336 and 690 *read* 246 and 306.

,, 206, note, *for* Kulliani *read* Callian Bandar.

,, 260, note 3, *for* Arduiel *read* Ardeuil.

,, 282, note 3, *for* Asia *read* Assam.

TRAVELS IN INDIA

CHAPTER XII[1]

Concerning the articles of merchandise yielded by the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL *and the Kingdoms of* GOLCONDA *and* BIJAPUR *and other neighbouring territories.*

I CAN easily believe that those who have previously written on the condition of the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL did not feel themselves called upon to give a full list of all the articles of merchandise which it furnishes to foreigners. This I shall endeavour to do according to the information I have acquired during the long years I have passed in different journeys in these countries. The reader will, without doubt, cheerfully approve of this research which I have made with so much care, particularly if he is connected with commerce, and if he desires to know what art and nature produce that is curious, in different places, in order to subserve the human race.

It is necessary to remember here, what I have remarked at the commencement of the first book, touching the weights and measures which are used in

[1] In the English translation by John Phillips of 1684, this chapter is numbered x, the two preceding ones having been omitted.

India, where I have spoken of the *maund* and of the *seer*.[1] It is still necessary to say a word about the *cubit*.[2]

The *cubit* is a measure for all goods which can be measured by the ell, and there are different kinds, as we have different kinds of ells in EUROPE. It is divided into 24 *tassus*,[3] and as the greater part of the goods of INDIA are delivered at SURAT, there is represented on the margin a figure of the fourth part of a *cubit* of the town of SURAT, divided into six *tassus*.

I ought to commence this list of goods with the most precious of all, namely diamonds and coloured stones; but, as that subject is somewhat extensive, and is the most important of my accounts, I shall give it separate treatment, and only mention in this chapter silks, cloths, cottons, spices, and drugs, which are the five classes which include all the kinds of merchandise obtained from INDIA.

Concerning Silks.

KÁSIMBÁZÁR,[4] a village in the Kingdom of BENGAL, can furnish about twenty-two thousand (22,000) bales of silk annually, each bale weighing one hundred (100) *livres*. The 22,000 bales weigh 2,200,000 *livres* at 16 *onces* to the *livre*. The Dutch generally took, either for JAPAN or for HOLLAND, 6000 to 7000 bales of it, and they would have liked to get more, but the

[1] See Appendix, vol. i.

[2] *Cobit* in the original. According to the figure here given by Tavernier of a quarter of a cubit, its length must have been 27½ *in.* The ordinary *háth* of India, measured from the top of the middle finger to the elbow, is 18 in., but is sometimes increased by the width of the hand or of three fingers.

[3] *Tassots* in the original.

[4] Kasembazar in original, elsewhere Cosenbazar, for Kásimbázár.

merchants of TARTARY and of the whole MOGUL EMPIRE opposed their doing so, for these merchants took as much as the Dutch, and the balance remained with the people of the country for the manufacture of their own stuffs. All these silks are brought to the Kingdom of GUJARÁT, and the greater part come to AHMADÁBÁD and SURAT, where they are woven into fabrics.

Firstly, carpets of silk and gold, others of silk, gold, and silver, and others altogether of silk, are made in Surat. As for the woollen carpets, they are made at FATEHPUR,[1] 12 *coss* from AGRA.

In the second place, satins with bands of gold and silver, and others with bands of different colours, and others all uniform are made there, and it is the same with the *taffetas*.

Thirdly, *patoles*,[2] which are stuffs of silk, very soft, decorated all over with flowers of different colours, are manufactured at AHMADÁBÁD. They vary in price from eight (8) to forty (40) rupees the piece. This is one of the profitable investments of the Dutch, who do not permit any member of their Company to engage in private trade in it. They are exported to the PHILIPPINES, BORNEO, JAVA, SUMATRA, and other neighbouring countries.

[1] Vettapour in the original, Fatehpur Sikri, which is 23 miles W.S.W. of Agra. See vol. i, p. 89. It was founded as the Metropolis of the Mogul Empire by Akbar in 1570. Previously it bore the name of Sikri. Its magnificence is testified by the ruins of palaces and mosques, which still attract many visitors. Its industries were numerous, including silk spinning, weaving, and stone-cutting. At present the carpets produced there are of an inferior and coarse kind.

[2] This is from the Kanarese *pattuda*, "a silk cloth" (Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. "Patola"). Terry calls them *pintadoes*, and extols the art displayed in stitching together "fresh coloured *taffata* and *pintadoes*, and *taffata* and satin, with cotton wool between, to make quilts." (*A Voyage to East India*, London 1777, p. 127.)

As for crude silks, it should be remarked that none of them are naturally white except that of PALESTINE, of which even the merchants of ALEPPO and TRIPOLI have difficulty in obtaining a small quantity. Thus the silk of KÁSIMBÁZÁR is yellow, as are all the crude silks which come from PERSIA and SICILY. But the people of KÁSIMBÁZÁR know how to whiten theirs with a lye made of the ashes of a tree which is called Adam's fig,[1] which makes it as white as the silk of PALESTINE. The Dutch carry their silks and the other goods which they obtain in BENGAL by the canal which goes from KÁSIMBÁZÁR to the GANGES, and this canal is nearly 15 leagues long. There remains an equal distance to descend by the GANGES to HUGLY, where they ship their goods on board their vessels.

Concerning Cotton Cloths, and first of the painted fabrics called Chites.[2]

The *chites* or painted cotton cloths which are called *calmendar*,[3] that is to say, made with a brush, are made in the Kingdom of GOLCONDA, and especially in the neighbourhood of MASULIPATAM; but the quantity made is so small that when one places in requisition all the workers who make these cotton cloths it is with difficulty that he can obtain as much as three bales.

The *chites* which are made in the Empire of the

[1] Adam's fig is a translation of the Portuguese name for the plantain, *Musa paradisiaca*. The Muhammadans believe that its leaves were used by Adam and Eve to clothe themselves with in the Garden of Eden. Hence the name. The ash of the plantain resembles that of the potato, as it contains both potash and soda salts, and the percentage of phosphoric acid and magnesia is said to be about the same in both.

[2] Chintzes.

[3] Properly *kalamdar*, derived from *kalam*, Hin., a pen or brush.

GREAT MOGUL are printed, and are of different degrees of beauty, both on account of the printing and the fineness of the cotton cloth. Those made at LAHORE are the coarsest of all, and consequently the cheapest. They are sold by *corges*,[1] a *corge* consisting of 20 pieces, and costing from 16 to 30 rupees. The *chites* which are made at SIRONJ are sold at from 20 to 60 rupees the *corge* or thereabouts.

All the *chites* of which I am about to speak are printed cotton cloths, of which bedcovers are made, and also *sufras* or tablecloths, according to the custom of the country, pillowcases, pocket-handkerchiefs, and especially waistcoats for the use of both men and women, principally in PERSIA.

The *chites* of bright colours are made at BURHÁNPUR. They are made into handkerchiefs, which are at present much used by those who take snuff, and a sort of veil called *ormis*,[2] which the women throughout ASIA use to put on their heads and about their necks.

The *baftas*,[3] or cotton cloths to be dyed red, blue, or black, are taken uncoloured to AGRA and AHMADÁBÁD, because these two towns are near the places where the Indigo is made, which is used in dyeing, and they cost from 2 rupees the piece up to 30 or 40 rupees, according to the fineness and the gold at both ends, and in some also on the sides. The Indians know how to pass some of these cloths through a certain water which causes them to appear like a waved camlet, and these pieces are the dearest.

These kinds of cotton cloth, which cost from 2 to

[1] Probably from *kori*, Hin., a score. [2] Or *ornis* (see vol. i, p. 52).
[3] *Bastas* in the original, for *Baftas* (see vol. i, p. 66).

12 rupees the piece, are exported to the coast of MELINDE,[1] and they constitute the principal trade done by the Governor of MOZAMBIQUE, who sells them to the Cafres to carry into the country of the ABYSSINS and the Kingdom of SABA,[2] because these people, not using soap, need only simply rinse out these cloths.

Those which cost 12 rupees and upwards are exported to the PHILIPPINES, BORNEO, JAVA, SUMATRA, and other islands. The women of these islands have for their sole garment a piece of this cotton cloth, which, without cutting, one end serves as a petticoat, and the remainder is wound round the waist and head.

White Cotton Cloths.

White cotton cloths come partly from AGRA and the vicinity of LAHORE, partly from BENGAL, and some from BARODA, BROACH, RENONSARI,[3] and other places. They come in a crude condition to RENONSARI and BROACH, where they have the means of bleaching them in large fields, and on account of the quantity of lemons growing in the neighbourhood, for cotton cloths can never be well bleached if they are not steeped in lemon juice.

The cotton cloths which come from AGRA, LAHORE,

[1] Or Melinda, more properly Malinda, an Arab town on the east coast of Africa in S. Lat. 3° 9′. (See for notice Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.)

[2] Abyssinia and Saba which was probably the Sabœa of Strabo, occupying a large portion of Southern Arabia.

[3] With reference to this place, Col. Yule informs me that it is Nosári or Navasári, and that Van Twist, in his *General Description of India* (1638), says that it was 6 Dutch miles (24 English) to the south of Surat, and produced much coarse cloth.

and BENGAL are sold by *corges*, and they cost from 16 up to 300 or 400 rupees and more, according as the merchant directs them to be made.

The cotton cloths which come from RENONSARI and BROACH are 21 cubits long when crude, but only 20 cubits when bleached. Those of BARODA are 20 cubits when crude, and 19½ when bleached.

All the cotton cloths or *baftas* which come from these three towns are of two kinds; for there are both broad and narrow kinds, and it is the narrow of which I have just spoken, and which are sold at from 2 to 6 *mahmúdis* each.

The broad *baftas* are 1⅓ cubit wide, and the piece is 20 cubits long. They are commonly sold at from 5 to 12 *mahmúdis*, but the merchant on the spot is able to have them made much wider and finer, and up to the value of 500 *mahmúdis* the piece. In my time I have seen two pieces of them sold, for each of which 1000 *mahmúdis* were paid. The English bought one and the Dutch the other, and they were each of twenty-eight (28) cubits. MUHAMMAD ALI BEG, when returning to PERSIA from his embassy to INDIA, presented CHA SEFI II[1] with a cocoa-nut of the size of an ostrich's egg, enriched with precious stones; and when it was opened a turban was drawn from it 60 cubits in length, and of a muslin so fine that you would scarcely know what it was that you had in your hand.[2] On returning from one of my voyages, I had the curiosity to take with me an ounce of thread, of which

[1] Sháh Safi or Safvi II. Tavernier describes him in the *Persian Travels*, Paris Ed., 1676, p. 524.

[2] This must have been like the famous Dacca muslins, upon which such names as *áb rawán*, flowing water, were conferred.

resembles hemp. It is cut three times in the year, and the first cutting takes place when it is about 2 or 3 feet high; and it is cut to within 6 inches of the ground. The first leaf is without doubt better than those which follow, the second yielding less by 10 or 12 per cent than the first, and the third 20 per cent less than the second. It is classified by the colour, as seen when a morsel of the paste is broken. The colour of the indigo made from the first crop is of a violet-blue, which is more brilliant and more lively than the others, and that of the second is more lively than that of the third. But besides this difference, which causes a considerable effect on the price, the Indians manipulate the weight and quality, as I shall elsewhere explain.

After the Indians have cut the plant they throw it into tanks made of lime,[1] which becomes so hard that one would say that they were made of a single piece of marble. The tanks are generally from 80 to 100 paces in circuit, and when half-full with water, or a little more, they are filled up with the cut plant. The Indians mix it and stir it up with the water every day until the leaf (for the stem is of no account) becomes reduced into slime or greasy earth. This done they allow it to rest for some days, and when they see that all has sunk to the bottom and that the water is clear above, they open the holes made round the tank to allow the water to escape. Next, the water having been drawn off, they fill baskets with the slime, after which, in a level field, each man is to be seen near his basket taking this paste in his fingers, and moulding it into pieces of the shape and size of a hen's egg cut in

[1] The indigo vats are faced with "*chunam*" (lime), which, especially when made from shells, produces a marble-like surface.

two—that is to say, flat below and pointed above.' But as for the indigo of AHMADÁBÁD, it is flattened and made into the shape of a small cake. This is to be particularly remarked, that the merchants, in order to escape paying custom on useless weight, before sending the indigo from ASIA to EUROPE are careful to sift it, in order to remove the dust attached to it, which they afterwards sell to the people of the country, who make use of it in their dyes. Those who are employed to sift the indigo observe great precautions, for while so occupied they hold a cloth in front of the face, and take care that all their orifices are well closed, only leaving two small holes in the cloth for the eyes, to see what they are doing. Moreover, both those who sift the indigo and the writers or sub-merchants of the Company who watch them sifting, have to drink milk every hour, this being a preservative against the subtlety of the indigo. All these precautions do not prevent those who are occupied for eight or ten days, sifting indigo, from having all that they expectorate coloured blue for some time. I have indeed on more than one occasion observed that if an egg is placed in the morning near one of these sifters, in the evening, when one breaks it, it is altogether blue inside, so penetrating is the dust of indigo.

According as the men take paste from the baskets with their fingers steeped in oil, and mould it in pieces, they expose them to the sun to dry. And when the merchants buy the indigo they always burn some pieces in order to see if there is any sand mixed with it. For the peasants who take the paste out of the baskets to separate it into pieces, after they have dipped their hands in oil, place it in the sand, which mingles with

the paste and makes it heavier; and when burnt the indigo becomes a cinder and the sand remains entire. The Governors do all they can to stop this fraud, but there are always some who practise it.

Concerning Saltpetre.

Saltpetre comes in abundance from AGRA and from PATNA, a town of BENGAL; and that which is refined costs three times as much as that which is not. The Dutch have established a depôt at CHAPRÁ,[1] which is 14 leagues above PATNA; and the saltpetre being refined there, they send it by river to HUGLY. They imported boilers from HOLLAND, and employed refiners to refine the saltpetre for themselves; but have not succeeded, because the people of the country, seeing that the Dutch wished to deprive them of the profits of refining, would not supply them any longer with whey, without the aid of which the saltpetre cannot be bleached, for it is worth nothing at all if it is not very white and very transparent. A *maund* of saltpetre costs 7 *mahmúdis*.[2]

Concerning Spices.

Cardamom, ginger, pepper, nutmegs, mace, cloves, and cinnamon are the several kinds of spices which

[1] Choupar in the original (see vol. i, p. 122). The crude saltpetre is obtained in India by lixiviation of the soil on deserted and even occupied village sites. It consists of the potash nitrate, and a simple explanation may be given of the chemical reaction which produces it. The nitrogenous waste of the village being brought into contact with potash derived from wood-ash, the ammonia is converted into nitric acid, which combines with the potash, and the salt so formed permeates the soil. A century ago most of the saltpetre of the world which was used for gunpowder came from India. Now there are other sources of supply.

[2] *I.e.* 5s. 3d. for 34 *livres*.

are known to us. I place cardamom and ginger as the two first, because cardamom grows in the Kingdom of BIJAPUR and ginger in that of the GREAT MOGUL, and the other kinds of spices are imported from abroad to SURAT, where they constitute an important article of commerce.

Cardamom is the best kind of spice, but is very scarce, and as but a small quantity is grown in the place I have indicated, it is only used in ASIA at the tables of the nobles. 500 *livres* of cardamom are sold at from 100 to 110 *reals*.[1]

Ginger comes in large quantities from AHMADÁBÁD, where it grows in greater abundance than in any other part of ASIA, and it is difficult to realise the quantity which is exported in a candied condition to foreign countries.

Pepper is of two kinds, one of small size, and the other much larger; these are respectively called small and large pepper. The large kind is chiefly from MALABAR, and TUTICORIN and CALICUT are the towns where it is purchased. Some of it also comes from the Kingdom of BIJAPUR, and is sold at RÁJAPUR,[2] a small town of that kingdom. The Dutch who purchase it from the *Malabaris* do not pay in cash for it, but exchange for it many kinds of merchandise, as cotton, opium, vermilion, and quicksilver, and it is this large pepper which is exported to EUROPE. As for the small pepper which comes from BANTAM, ACHIN, and

[1] *I.e.* with the *real* at 4s. 6d., £22 : 10s. to £24 : 15s.

[2] *Regapour* in the original is Rájápur in the Ratnágiri District. As a port its importance has much diminished, it being now inaccessible for large vessels by the creek which connects it with the sea, 15 miles distant. In 1660-61 and 1670 it and the English factory were sacked by Sivaji. (See *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. xi, p. 385.)

other places eastwards, it is not sent out of ASIA, where much is consumed, especially by the Muhammadans. For in a pound of small pepper there are double the number of seeds that there are in a pound of the large; and the more grains in the *pillaus*, into which they are thrown by the handful, the more are seen, besides which the large pepper is too hot for the mouth.[1]

This small pepper, delivered at SURAT, has been in some years sold at the rate of 13 or 14 *mahmúdis* the *maund*,[2] and I have seen it bought at this price by the English, who export it to HORMUZ, BASSORÁ, and the RED SEA. As for the large pepper which the Hollanders fetch from the coast of MALABAR, 500 *livres*[3] of it brings them only 38 *reals*, but on the merchandise which they give in exchange they gain 100 per cent.

One can get it for the equivalent in money of 28 or 30 *reals* cash, but to purchase it in that way would be much more costly than the Dutch method. As for large pepper, without going beyond the territories of the GREAT MOGUL there is enough to be obtained in the Kingdom of GUJARÁT, and it is generally sold at the rate of from 12 to 15 *mahmúdis* the *maund*.[4] The wood of long pepper costs but four *mahmúdis*.

Nutmeg, mace, clove, and cinnamon are the only spices which the Dutch have in their own hands. The three first come from the MOLUCCA Islands, and the fourth, *i.e.* cinnamon, comes from the island of CEYLON.

[1] It may be remarked that the whole-pepper obtained in the Bazaars, and commonly used in cookery in India, is a much smaller, less pungent, and generally inferior seed to that which comes to Europe.

[2] 9s. 8d. to 10s. 6d. per 34 *livres*, with the *mahmúdi* at 9d.

[3] *I.e.* £6 : 6s. to £6 : 15s.

[4] 9s. to 10s. 6d. for 34 *livres*.

There is one thing remarkable about the nutmeg, namely, that the tree is never planted. This has been confirmed to me by many persons who have dwelt for many years in the country. They have assured me that when the nuts are ripe certain birds which arrive from the islands to the south swallow them whole, and reject them afterwards without having digested them, and that these nuts, being then covered by a viscous and sticky substance, fall to the ground, take root, and produce trees, which would not happen if they were planted in the ordinary way.[1] I have here a remark to make upon the subject of the Bird of Paradise. These birds, which are very fond of the nutmeg, assemble in numbers in the season to gorge themselves with it, and they arrive in flocks as flights of field-fares do during the vintage. As this nut is strong it intoxicates these birds and causes them to fall dead upon the spot, and immediately the ants which abound in the country eat off their feet. It is on this account that it is commonly said that a Bird of Paradise with feet[2] has never been seen. This is, however, not

[1] This is so far true as regards the fact that the great fruit-eating pigeons are able to swallow large fruits, the stones of which they afterwards reject. These pigeons belong to the genera *Carpophaga* and *Myristicivora*, and I have often been amazed at the wide gape and the mobility of the articulation of the jaws of these birds. When wounded I have seen them disgorge very large fruits. Several species occur in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and other allied species in the Malayan Archipelago. That these birds aid in propagating plants in remote islands by conveying the seeds cannot be doubted.

[2] As is well known, the true origin of this fable about the *apodas* is, that the natives who prepare the plumes of the birds of paradise for decorative purposes remove the feet from the skins, and as the birds were in early times only known by these dried and stitched-up skins, the idea spread that they had no feet. Tavernier's explanation shows the tenacity of the myth.

precisely true, for I have seen three or four with their feet intact, upon which the ants had not had time to operate.

A French merchant, named CONTOUR, sent one which had feet, from ALEPPO, to King LOUIS XIII, who prized it much as it was so beautiful.

But notwithstanding all the Dutch can do to prevent it, you can obtain cloves at MACASSAR, in the Isle of CELEBES, without the spice passing through their hands, because the islanders buy in secret from the captains and soldiers of the forts belonging to the Dutch at the places where the cloves grow, taking them in exchange rice and other necessaries of life, without which they would be unable to subsist, being miserably supported. Whilst commerce was vigorously pushed by the English, they acted as though their object was to destroy that of the Dutch. After having bought a parcel of cloves at MACASSAR they sent them to all the places where the Dutch were accustomed to sell them, and giving them at a cheap price, and sometimes even at a loss, by this means they ruined the clove trade of the Dutch. For it is an established custom in INDIA that the first who fixes the price of any article of merchandise constrains all others, by his example, to sell at the same rate during the year. It is for this reason that the Dutch have established a factory at MACASSAR, where their officers raise the price of cloves as much as they can when the King of the Island opens the sale. They make considerable presents to the King in order to induce him to uphold the price, which neither the English nor the Portuguese, in the miserable state in which their affairs are to-day, are able to prevent.

Whenever the people of MACASSAR have cloves they pay for the goods brought to them with that spice; payment is also made with tortoiseshell, which is in great demand in all the Empire of the MOGUL and in EUROPE: it is also made with gold dust, by which there is 6 or 7 per cent to be gained instead of its being lost on the money of the island, although it be gold, because the King adulterates it too much. The four places where cloves grow in abundance are the land of AMBOINE, the land of ELLIAS, the land of SERAM, and the land of BOURO.[1]

The Islands of BANDA, which are six in number, known as NERO, LONTOUR, POULEAY, ROSEGUIN, POLLERON, and GRENAPUIS,[2] bear nutmegs in great abundance. The Island of GRENAPUIS is about 6 leagues in circuit, and culminates in a peak from whence much fire issues. The Island of DAMNE,[3] where the nutmeg also grows in great abundance and of large size, was discovered in the year 1647 by ABEL TASMAN, a Dutch commander.

The prices of cloves and nutmegs, as I have seen them sold to the Dutch in SURAT in certain years, were as follows:—The *maund* of SURAT is equal to 40 *seers*, which make 34 of our *livres* at 16 *onces* to the *livre*.

A *maund* of cloves was sold for 103½ *mahmúdis*.

[1] Amboyna, Gilolo? Ceram, and Boeroe (or Buru), islands in the Molucca Sea.

[2] Pulo Nera (*i.e.* island of palm wine); Lontar (the name of a palm); Pulo Ai or Pulo Wai (*i.e.* water-island); Rosingen (Rosolanguim of De Barros); Pulo Run (or Rung, *i.e.* chamber island); and Gunung-api (fire-mountain or volcano). These, with four others, constitute the Banda group. (Crawfurd, *Dict.*)

[3] I cannot identify this. Tasman discovered Van Diemen's Land, but nutmegs can hardly grow there; possibly Tavernier has made some mistake.

A maund of mace was sold for 157½ *mahmúdis*
,, nutmegs ,, 56½ ,,[1]

All the cinnamon comes at present from the Island of CEYLON. The tree which produces it closely resembles our willows and has three barks. The first and second only are removed, and the latter is considered to be much the best. As for the third, it is not touched, for if the knife cuts it it causes the tree to die. This is an art which the natives learn from their youth. The cinnamon costs the Dutch more than is generally believed. For the King of the Island of CEYLON, who is otherwise called King of KANDY,[2] from the name of the capital town, being a sworn enemy of the Dutch because they did not keep their promise with him, as I have elsewhere related, sends troops every year with the intention of surprising them when they go to collect the cinnamon. It is for this reason that the Dutch are obliged to have 1500 or 1600 armed men to defend an equal number of men while engaged in removing the bark of the cinnamon, and they are obliged to feed these labourers for all the remainder of the year in addition to the expenditure on the garrisons in several parts of the island. These great outlays enhance the price of the cinnamon; it was not so in the time of the Portuguese, who had not all this expenditure, but placed all to profit. The cinnamon tree bears a fruit like an olive, but it is not eaten. The Portuguese used to gather quantities of it, which they placed in chaldrons with water together with the small points of the ends of the branches, and they

[1] Equal respectively to £3 : 17 : 6, £5 : 18 : 1½, and £2 : 2 : 4 per *livres*.

[2] Or Candy, as in the original.

boiled the whole till the water was evaporated when cooled, the upper portion of what remained was like a paste of white wax, and at the bottom of the chaldron there was camphor. Of this paste they made tapers, which they used in the churches during the service at the annual festivals, and as soon as the tapers were lighted all the church was perfumed with an odour of cinnamon. They have often sent them to LISBON for the King's chapel. Formerly the Portuguese procured cinnamon from the countries belonging to *Rajas* in the neighbourhood of COCHIN.[1] But since the Dutch have taken this town, and have become masters of the coast of CEYLON, where the cinnamon grows, seeing that that of the neighbourhood of COCHIN injured the trade, because, not being so good as that of CEYLON, it was sold at a low price, they destroyed all the places where it grew, and thus there is no cinnamon now but that of CEYLON, which is altogether in their hands. When the Portuguese held this coast the English bought cinnamon from them and ordinarily paid 50 *mahmúdis* for a *maund*.[2]

Concerning the drugs obtainable at SURAT, *and those imported from foreign countries, with the price of each, per maund.*

Sal Ammoniac costs per *maund* according to the ordinary price . . . . . 20 *mahmúdis.*

Borax, like the preceding, is brought from AHMADÁBÁD[3] without being refined, and costs per *maund* 35 „

[1] Bastard cinnamon. (See vol. i, p. 234.)

[2] £1 : 17 : 6.

[3] Probably brought to Ahmadábád from Thibet, but I have seen a statement as to its occurrence in Kathiáwár, which, however, requires confirmation. (*Vide Economic Geology of India*, p. 498.)

Gum-lac,[1] of which I shall speak below . .	7½	*mahmúdis.*
„ „ washed	10	„
„ „ in sticks of sealing-wax. . . .	40	„
Some kinds cost 50 and 60 *mahmúdis* per *maund*, and even more when musk is added to it.		
Saffron[2] of SURAT, which is only used for colours .	4½	„
White Cumin[3]	8	„
Black Cumin	3	„
Arlet,[4] small	3	„
Incense,[5] from the Arabian coast. . . .	3	„
Mirrha.[6] The good quality called *Mirrha-gilet* .	30	„
Mirrha-bolte, from Arabia	15	„
Cassia[7]	2	„
Sugar-Candy	18	„
Asutinat,[8] a kind of grain which is very hot . .	1	„
Fenouil[9] (Fr.), large	3½	„
„ small and very hot	1½	„
Oupelote,[10] root	14	„
Cointre,[11]	5	„
Auzerout,[12] from Persia	120	„

[1] Shellac, produced on certain trees by the *Coccus lacca.*

[2] Saffron consists of the stigmas of *Crocus sativus*, L., which was an article of trade at the time the "*Periplus*" was written, and has been cultivated in the East ever since.

[3] The fruit of *Cuminum cyminum*, L., a small annual indigenous to the Upper Nile regions, spread by cultivation to Arabia, India, China, etc. (Fluckiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*, p. 295.)

[4] Not identified.

[5] The gum resin (*olibanum*) of *Boswellia floribunda*, Endl.

[6] The precise nature of the trees yielding myrrh is somewhat doubtful. Two varieties from Africa are called *Heera Bol* (true myrrh) and *Bissa Bol* (an inferior variety). Arabian myrrh is obtained to the east of Aden (see Fluckiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*).

[7] The fruit of *Cassia fistula*, L. [8] Not identified.

[9] The fruit of *Pimpinella anisum*, L., cultivated in India.

[10] *Costus* or *kostus*, the root of *Aucklandia costus.*

[11] Possibly *kundur*, *i.e.* frankincense, obtained from *Boswellia floribunda*, but that has already been enumerated.

[12] For *Anzarút*, a gum-resin once known to Europeans as a drug under the name *sarcocolla.* According to Ainslie (*Materia Medica*, vol. i, p. 381) it is derived from *Penæa mucronata*, Lin., which yields it by spontaneous exudation; it is a native of Africa. It was used by the

Aloes *Sucotrin*,[1] from Arabia	28	*mahmúdis.*
Reglisse[2] (Fr.)	4	„
Vez Cabouli,[3] a kind of root	12	„
Aloe-wood,[4] in large pieces	200	„
„ in small pieces	400	„
There is a sort of aloe-wood which, if very oily, costs per *maund*	4000	„

I shall now make some special remarks about gum-lac, sugar, opium, tobacco, and coffee.

Gum-lac[5] for the most part comes from PEGU, but it also comes from the Kingdom of BENGAL; and it is dearer in the latter places because the inhabitants of the country extract from it that beautiful scarlet colour[6] which they use to dye and paint their cotton

Arabs for healing wounds, and by Mesue it was believed to have cathartic properties. According to Dymock's *Vegetable Materia Medica*, 2d Ed., Bombay 1885, it is still largely used by the natives of Western India. I am indebted to Colonel Yule for the two last identifications.

[1] Socotrine aloes, prepared from the juice of *Aloe Socotrina*, Linn.

[2] Liquorice.

[3] Possibly for *bish*, Sanskrit *visha*, *i.e.* poison, Aconite root.

[4] *Bois d'aloes.* This is the *Lign Aloes* of Latin writers and the *Lignum Aloes* of the Bible, it is quite distinct from the modern aloes, being the inside of the trunk of *Aquilaria ovata* and *A. Agallochum*, which contain a fragrant resinous substance of dark colour. It was formerly generally used both for incense and for medicinal purposes, but is now only esteemed in the East. From the Portuguese term *agila* or *aguila* has come the popular name "eagle-wood." There is an account of it in Royle's *Illustrations*, etc., and Garcias de Orta devotes his 30th *Colloquy* to it under the title *Linaloes*. It is described very concisely in the *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. "Eagle-wood." It is used in the manufacture of the incense-sticks from Burmah, which are now well known in Europe.

[5] I have elsewhere identified the Ἤλεκτρον of Ktesias with shellac. (See "On the Identification of the Animals and Plants of India, which were known to Early Greek Authors," *Proc. Royal Irish Academy*, 2d series, vol. ii, No. 6, p. 331; and for an account of the production and manufacture of shellac in Bengal, see *Jungle Life in India*, p. 308.)

[6] The dye consists of the bodies of the female *coccus* which alone secretes the lac.

cloths. Nevertheless the Dutch buy it to export to PERSIA, where it is used to produce the same colour which the Persians employ in their dyes. That which remains after the colour is extracted is only used to embellish toys[1] made in the lathe, of which the people are very fond, and to make sealing-wax; and be it for the one or the other purpose, they mix whatever colour they desire with it. That which comes from PEGU is the cheapest, though it is as good as that of other countries; what causes it to be sold cheaper is that the ants, making it there on the ground in heaps, which are sometimes of the size of a cask,[2] mix with it a quantity of dirt. On the other hand, in BENGAL, the district from whence they bring the lac being a kind of heath full of shrubs, the ants secrete it round the ends of branches, which makes it fair and clean, and it is consequently dearer. The inhabitants of PEGU do not employ it as a dye because they receive their cotton cloths ready dyed from BENGAL and MASULIPATAM; and, moreover, they are so uncivilised that they do not engage in any art.[3] There are many women at SURAT who gain their livelihood by preparing lac after the colour has been extracted. They give it whatever colour they wish, and make it into sticks like Spanish wax. The English and Dutch Companies export about 150 chests annually. Lac in sticks does not

[1] Such as the Benares toys, nests of boxes, etc., of the present. The coloured lac is applied in sticks to the wood surfaces as they revolve in the lathe, after which they require only to be burnished.

[2] This description may be due to some confusion about white ants' nests. I have failed to find any peculiarity ascribed to the Burmah lac which would explain the passage.

[3] Tavernier probably knew very little of Pegu, which he never visited. Had he done so he would have found certain arts flourishing there.

cost more than 10 *sols* the *livre*, and it is worth 10 *sols* the *once* in FRANCE, though it be half mixed with resin.

Moist sugar is exported in quantity from the Kingdom of BENGAL, and there is great traffic in it at HUGLY, PATNA, DACCA, and in other places. On the occasion of my last visit to INDIA I went very far into BENGAL even up to the frontiers of the neighbouring states. I heard a thing from many old people of the country which should be recorded. It is that sugar kept for thirty years becomes poison, and that there is nothing more dangerous or prompter in producing effect.[1] Loaf-sugar is made at AHMADÁBÁD, where the people understand how to refine it; and it is called on this account royal sugar. These loaves of sugar generally weigh from 8 to 10 *livres*.

Opium comes from BURHÁNPUR, a good mercantile town between SURAT and AGRA. The Dutch go there for it, and exchange their pepper for it.

Tobacco[2] also grows abundantly in the neighbourhood of BURHÁNPUR; and in certain years I have known the people to neglect saving it because they had too much, and they allowed half [the crop] to decay.

Coffee grows neither in PERSIA nor in INDIA.[3]

[1] It is not unlikely that there may be still a belief to this effect in India. I think I have heard something of the same kind about rice when kept beyond a certain time. Possibly they both originate in some proverbial saying having reference to storing up articles of food too long.

[2] The practice of smoking tobacco, which was first learnt by the Spaniards from the Cuban Indians in the year 1492, was introduced into Turkey, Egypt, and India about the end of the 16th century; and it spread steadily, though opposed by the severest enactments of both Christian and Muhammadan governments. (See Fluckiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*.)

[3] It is perhaps needless to point out that this was written two centuries before the cultivation of coffee became an important industry in Ceylon and Southern India.

Nevertheless, since some Indian vessels load up with it on their return from MECCA, I give it place here amongst the drugs. The principal trade in it is at HORMUZ and BASSORA, where the Dutch, when returning empty from MOCHA, load up as much as they can, it being an article which they sell well. From HORMUZ it is exported to PERSIA, and even to GREAT TARTARY; and from BASSORA it is distributed in CHALDEE, in ARABIA along the course of the EUPHRATES, in MESOPOTAMIA, and other Turkish provinces,—for as for INDIA, it is but little used there. Coffee, which means wine in the Arabian tongue, is a kind of bean which grows at eight days' journey from MOCHA, on the road to MECCA. Its use was first discovered by a hermit named *Sheikh* SIADELI (*i.e.* SAYID ALI), some 120 years ago or thereabouts; for before him there is no author, ancient or modern, who has mentioned it.[1]

All goods in coming from AGRA to SURAT, for despatch of bills of exchange at 5 per cent, for packing,

[1] Coffee was first mentioned in European literature in 1573 by Ruwolf. Seventy years later a sample of it was brought from Constantinople to Marseilles by Thevenot. It was first brought to Aden by *Sheikh* Shihábuddin Dhabháni, who died in 1470, hence it is concluded that its introduction was about the middle of the fifteenth century. Niebuhr states that it was first brought from Kaffa in Abyssinia to Yemen by Arabs. It appears to have been cultivated principally at Jabal, whence it was conveyed to Mocha. The Arabic name is *kahwa*, pronounced *kahveh* by the Turks. The plant itself is called *bun*. As Tavernier says, the name *kahwa* was originally applied to wine. (*Vide* Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.) Terry's account of the use of coffee in India in his time is of sufficient interest to be quoted in full:—"Many of the people there who are strict in their religion drink no wine at all; but they use a liquor, more wholesome than pleasant, they call coffee, made by a black seed boiled in water, which turns it almost into the same colour, but doth very little alter the taste of the water. Notwithstanding, it is very good to help digestion, to quicken the spirits, and to cleanse the blood." (*A Voyage to India*, London Ed., 1777, pp. 100-101.)

carriage, and customs, according to their classes, are charged from 15 to 20 per cent.

All the gold and silver, whether in ingots or coin, pays 2 per cent on entering SURAT.[1] The merchant does what he can to avoid this charge; nevertheless, when caught, he is let off with paying double and nothing more. The Princes would like to confiscate the whole sum, but the judges are opposed, and maintain that MUHAMMAD forbade all custom dues and interest on money. I have spoken fully in the second chapter of the first book of the custom dues, the money, both gold and silver, and the weights and measures of India, to which I refer the reader.

[1] See vol. i, p. 8.

CHAPTER XIII

Concerning the frauds which can be practised in manufactures, whether by the roguery of the workers or the knavery of the brokers and buyers.

I SHALL follow in this chapter the same order as I have observed in the preceding, with the object of making plain, for the benefit of the merchant, all the frauds which can be effected in silk, cotton cloths, cotton, and indigo, for there are none in the case of spices and drugs.

Frauds in Silken Stuffs.

Silken stuffs can vary in breadth, length, and quality. The length and breadth are ascertainable by measurement, the quality depends upon whether they are uniformly woven, whether the weight is equal, and whether there is no cotton introduced into the web, as the Indians very often introduce it.

The Indians, not knowing the art of gilding silver, put into their striped stuffs threads of pure gold; on this account it is necessary to count the number of threads to see if the stuff contains the requisite quantity, and the same should be done in the case of stuffs striped with silver. As for *taffetas*, it is only necessary to see whether they have a uniform fineness, and next

to unfold some of them to see if they contain any foreign substance to increase the weight, after which, each piece should be weighed separately, in order to ascertain whether it is of proper weight.

It is in AHMADÁBÁD where, as I have said, an abundance of these stuffs is made of gold and silk, silver and silk, and of silk alone, and carpets[1] of gold and silver and silk, but the colours of these carpets do not last so long as those of the carpets which are made in PERSIA. As for the workmanship, it is equally beautiful. It is for the eye of the broker to observe the size, beauty, and fineness of the work in the carpets worked with gold and silver, and he ought to judge if it is good and rich. Finally, in the case of carpets, and in other stuffs worked with gold and silver, it is necessary to withdraw some threads to prove them, and in order to see if they are of the standard which they ought to be.

Frauds in Cotton Cloths, and, firstly, in White Cloths.

All the cotton cloths, both fine and coarse, which the Dutch company order to be made in the Provinces of the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, are brought in bales to the storehouse at SURAT, and delivered to the broker about the months of October and November.

The frauds commonly perpetrated are in respect of the fineness, the length, and the breadth. Each bale may contain about 200 pieces, among which five or six and up to ten pieces can be inserted of less fine

[1] The word in the original here is *tapis*, which should perhaps be translated otherwise than carpet, though that is the ordinary signification of the word. Perhaps table-covers are meant.

quality, thinner, shorter, or narrower than the sample of the bale; this cannot be ascertained without examination piece by piece. The fineness is judged by the eye, the length and breadth by measurement. But they practise in India a still greater refinement, which is to count the number of the threads which ought to be in the breadth according to the fineness of the sample. When the number is lacking it is thinner or narrower or coarser. The difference is sometimes so imperceptible to the eye that it is difficult to discern it without counting the threads,[1] nevertheless this difference amounts to a considerable sum in the price of a large quantity, for it requires but little to abate an *écu* or even two *écus* on a piece when the price is from 15 to 20 *écus* the piece. Those who bleach these cloths, in order to save something for their profit on the quantity of lemons which are required, beat the cloths on stones, and when they are fine the beating does them much injury and diminishes their price.

But it should be remarked that the Indians, when making their cloths, if the piece is worth more than 2 *écus*, insert at either end threads of gold and silver, and the finer the cost, the more of these threads do they insert, the price of which mounts to nearly as high a figure as that of the cloth itself. It is for this reason that it is necessary to forbid the workers to insert these threads of gold in cloths ordered to be made for export to FRANCE—this gold and silver, which the Indians insert as an ornament in their cloths and garments, being of no use to the French. But

[1] The Manchester goods of the present day are subjected to the same examination in India. It is a matter of some notoriety that fraud in connection with them is not unknown.

for the cloths which are ordered for POLAND and MUSCOVIE, it is necessary to have this gold and silver in the Indian style, because the Poles and Russians will have nothing to do with the cloths if they have not got the threads of gold and silver. It is necessary also to take care that they do not become black, because these peoples are unwilling to buy cloths when the gold and silver are black.

As for the cloths dyed with indigo, either violet or black, it is necessary to take care that the workers do not blacken the threads of gold at the ends of the pieces, and that they do not beat the pieces too much after being folded, because they sometimes beat them so much, in order to make them smooth, that when one comes to unfold them he finds them broken at each fold.

It should also be remarked that upon the fag end of the pieces of cloth the Indians print with a seal and gold leaf an Arabesque flower, which extends the whole width of the piece. But if these pieces are destined for FRANCE, it is necessary to forbid the workers to impress this flower, which costs a half *piastre*, and to save this sum on the price of the piece. But if it is for exportation to the Indian islands, anywhere in ASIA, or even to a certain part of AMERICA, it is necessary that this flower should be on the fag end of the pieces, and that it should be preserved entire, because otherwise one is unable to sell them.

As for coloured and printed cloths, they are coloured and printed while crude, and it is requisite to take care that the work is accomplished before the end of the rains, because the more the waters where they are washed are disturbed, so much the more do

the colours applied with a brush or printing block remain vivid.[1]

It is easy to distinguish the cloths which are printed from those done with a brush, and if the broker is intelligent he will distinguish the difference in the beauty of one painted cloth from another by the cleanness of the work. But for the fineness and other qualities of the stuff, they are more difficult to distinguish in them than in the white cloths, and consequently it is necessary to observe more precaution.

Frauds practised in Cottons.

Cottons are the goods which are always first made and the earliest delivered in the stores of SURAT, because they are all spun in the Province of GUJARÁT. The frauds possible with them are in the weight and quality. The fraud in the weight can be effected in two ways, the first by putting it in a damp place, and by inserting in the middle of each skein some substance which increases the weight, the second in not weighing it truly when the broker receives it from the worker or from the merchant who delivers it.

The fraud in the quality is accomplished in but one way, which is by inserting in every *maund* three or four skeins of worse quality than that which is at the top, and in a large quantity that may amount to something considerable, for there is a variety of cotton thread which costs up to 100 *écus* the *maund*. As these two frauds are practised very often on the Dutch Company, this is the precaution they are obliged to adopt.

[1] In Book I, chap. iv, p. 56, this is differently stated, but apparently it is so through an error in the mode of expression.

It is to weigh, in the presence of the Commander and his counsel, and to examine carefully, each *maund*, skein by skein, to see if there is any fraud in the weight or quality. When that is done the Vice-Commander and those who are appointed under him to make this examination are obliged to attach to each bale a statement of the weight and quality; and when the bale is opened in HOLLAND, if there is anything wanting in either of these respects, those who have affixed the statement are obliged to pay the deficit.

Frauds practised in Indigo.

I have said[1] that the natives withdraw the paste from the baskets containing the indigo, and mould it, with the fingers steeped in oil, into pieces, which are then exposed in the sun to dry. The Indians who wish to cheat the merchants place the pieces on the sand to dry, so that the sand attaches itself and the indigo then weighs more. They also sometimes place the paste in damp ground, which makes it moist and consequently heavier. But when the Governor of the place discovers these frauds, he inflicts a heavy fine. Such frauds are easily discovered by a Broker and Commander experienced in the trade in this kind of merchandise by burning some morsels of indigo, after which the sand which remains becomes visible.

I have still to make a somewhat curious remark touching the brokers of INDIA. These brokers are commonly, as it were, chiefs of their families, for whom they hold all the property in trust to turn it to

[1] See p. 11.

account. For that reason those who have both the most years and experience are selected, so that they may be able to obtain benefits for all the kinsmen, being both the depositaries and the guardians of their goods. Every evening, after they have returned from their business, and, according to the custom of the Indians, who do not sup, have eaten some sweetmeats and drunk a cup of water, the oldest of the kinsmen assemble at the house of the broker, who renders an account of what he has done during the day, and they hold counsel together as to what should be done in the future. He is especially exhorted to take care of their business, and if possible to defraud rather than be defrauded.

CHAPTER XIV

Concerning the Methods to be observed for establishing a new Commercial Company in the EAST INDIES.[1]

SHOULD any nation desire to establish a Commercial Company in the EAST INDIES, before all things it ought to secure a good station in the country in order to be in a position to refit its ships, and to lay them by during the seasons when one is unable to go to sea. This want of a good harbour is the reason why the English Company has not progressed so well as it might have done, because it is impossible that a vessel can last for two years without being refitted, being subject to be eaten by worms.

But since the journey from EUROPE to the EAST INDIES is long, it is desirable that the Company should have some place at the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE for watering and obtaining supplies of food, both when going and returning from the INDIES, but especially when returning, because, as the vessels are then loaded, they are unable to carry a supply of water sufficient for a long time. In the meantime the Dutch have removed this advantage from the [reach of] other nations, by means of the fort which they have built at the CAPE, and the English have done the same thing at ST.

[1] This chapter is also introduced into the supplementary volume of Tavernier's travels entitled *Recüeil de plusieurs relations et traitez singuliers et curieux*, etc., where it is somewhat modified in details.

HELENA, although, by the law of nations and the general consent of the people of EUROPE, liberty to use these two places of refreshment has been for many years equally free to the whole world. Nevertheless, there may still be some mouth of a river near the CAPE where another fort might be constructed, and this position would be worth more than all that can be made in the island of DAUFINE,[1] where there is no trade except in the purchase of cattle for the sake of their hides. But this trade is so insignificant that it would quickly ruin any company, and the French have hitherto engaged in it without any advantage to themselves.

The conjecture which causes me to make the above suggestion is founded on the fact that in the year 1648 two Portuguese vessels coming from LISBON to INDIA, desiring to touch at the CAPE to take in water, and not taking their observations correctly, the sea being very high, entered a bay 18 or 20 leagues from the CAPE on the western side. They found in this bay a river, the water of which is very good, and the negroes of the country brought them supplies of all kinds of river-birds, fish, and beef. They remained there about fifteen days, and before leaving took two of the inhabitants to convey them to GOA, in order to teach them Portuguese, and endeavour to draw from them some information as to the trade which could be carried on there.[2] The Dutch Com-

[1] The island of Daufine of the original stands doubtless for the Fort of Dauphin, on the south-east coast of Madagascar. It was held by the French for some years, but was afterwards abandoned.

[2] The details in vol. i, p. 216, differ from those here given. The distance is there stated to be 30 leagues from the Cape; the only conclusion which can be drawn is that this bay was a part of, or in the vicinity of, Table Bay.

mander at SURAT asked me to go to GOA, in order to ascertain what the Portuguese had learnt from these two negroes; but a French engineer named SAINT AMAND,[1] who had the supervision of the forts at GOA, told me that they had not been able to teach them a single word of the language, and had only guessed from their signs that they knew ambergris and elephant's tusks. The Portuguese, nevertheless, did not doubt that they would find gold if they were able to trade with the interior. The revolution in PORTUGAL and the wars with SPAIN have prevented them from examining this coast more particularly, and it is to be desired that the Company should examine it carefully without giving offence to the Dutch, or allowing them to suspect its object.

It is, moreover, necessary that the Company should have a port near SURAT to withdraw and refit its vessels, in case they are delayed by the rainy season. The reason is, that during this bad weather, when it is almost impossible to withstand (the violence of) the sea, the MOGUL, for fear of danger to his fortress at SURAT, does not allow any foreign vessel into the river, where otherwise, when unladen, they might remain protected from the destructive storms which last for nearly five months.

The only place suitable for the withdrawal of the vessels of the Company is the town of DIU,[2] which belongs to the Portuguese. The advantages of its position are considerable for many reasons. The area of the town includes nearly 400 houses, and is capable of affording dwellings sufficiently numerous, and where

[1] Called St. Amant in vol. i, p. 204, and elsewhere.

[2] Diu, see vol. i, p. 6.

the (crews of the) vessels would find all they required during their sojourn. It is situated on the coast of GUJARÁT, at the point of the GULF OF CAMBAY, and faces towards the south-east. Its shape is nearly circular, and more than half the circle is surrounded by the sea. It is not commanded by any elevation, and the Portuguese have built some fortifications on the land side which might be easily completed. It has numerous wells of good water, and also a river which falls into the sea near the town, the water of which is better than that of SURAT and of SUWÁLI,[1] and the shelter is very commodious for vessels.

The Portuguese, on their first establishment in INDIA, kept a fleet at DIU composed of galleys, brigantines, and smaller vessels, with which they made themselves, for a very long time, masters of all the commerce of the places which are about to be enumerated, so that no one was able to trade without taking out a passport from the Governor of DIU, who franked it in the name of the Viceroy of PORTUGAL at GOA. The revenue which he obtained from these passports sufficed to support the fleet and garrison, and the Governor, who was only appointed for three years, did not omit to accumulate wealth for himself during that time.

Thus, according to the forces that one might establish in this place, one would derive great benefit. The Portuguese, feeble as they are at present, do not fail to profit from not having to pay duty for the money which they carry into the Kingdoms of the GREAT MOGUL and the King of BIJAPUR, nor for the goods which they take there.

[1] Suwali or Swally, see vol. i, p. 6.

When the rainy season is over, the wind being nearly always north or north-east, you can go from DIU to SURAT in light boats in three or four tides, but if large vessels are laden, it is necessary for them to coast all round.

A man on foot going by land to a small village named the GAUGES,[1] and from thence crossing the end of the Gulf, can go from DIU to SURAT in four or five days, but if the season prevents him from making this passage, he cannot go from DIU to SURAT in less than seven to eight days, because he must then make the circuit of the Gulf.

The town does not possess any territory outside the boundaries, but it would not be difficult to arrange with the *Raja*, or Governor of the Province, and obtain from him as much as may be required for the convenience of the inhabitants. The soil of the neighbourhood is not fertile, and the population around is the poorest in all the Empire of the MOGUL. Nevertheless, there is an abundance of cattle in the jungles, with which the country is covered, so that a buffalo or a cow does not cost more than 2 *piastres*.[2] The English and the Dutch use these cattle to feed their people, and to save the provision of their vessels during their sojourn at SUWÁLI.

It is well to remark that experience has shown that the flesh of buffaloes[3] often causes dysentery, which is

[1] Probably Gogo or Goga on the western side of the Gulf of Cambay. There is another locality of somewhat similar name too, namely Gajna, near the point where the Narbadá joins the Máhi Ságar, about 20 miles west of Baroda (A.S. 22 S.E.)

[2] *I.e.* about 9s.

[3] I believe it to be the case that both the flesh and milk of buffaloes are at times, if not always, unwholesome. In most parts of India there is a strong dislike among Europeans against using either.

calculated to be most injurious to crews, but the flesh of cows never gives rise to it.

The *Raja* who rules the country bears the title of Governor for life; and this is the case with nearly all the *Rajas* in the Empire of the MOGUL, who were the nobles of the Provinces where their descendants only have the title of Governors. He treats the Portuguese well, because their position as neighbours brings him in money by the sale of his corn, rice, and vegetables, and for the same reason he treats the French still better.

After the establishment of such a position, which should be the principal basis of the trade of the Company, there is nothing more important than to select two men, marked by their wisdom, rectitude, and intelligence in trade, and there should be no regard for economy in their appointments. These two men are for the service of the Company, one in the position of Commandant or Commander, as the Dutch entitle them, with a council of a certain number of persons to be given him for his assistance; the other for the office of broker or merchant, who should be a native of the country, an idolater and not a Muhammadan, because all the workmen with whom he will have to do are idolaters. Good manners and probity are above all things necessary in order to acquire confidence at first among these people. It is necessary to seek to obtain the same qualities in the private brokers, who are under the direction of the Broker-general, in the provinces where the offices of correspondents are established.

Intelligence is not less necessary for these two men, in order that they may detect any adulteration in the manufacture of the goods. It arises, as I have said,

either from the wickedness of the workmen and merchants or from the connivance of the sub-brokers with them. This adulteration may cause so much injury to the Company that private brokers profit by it sometimes from 10 to 12 per cent. If the Commander and the Broker-general connive together it is very difficult for the Company to guard against this fraud, but if they are both faithful and wise it will be easy to remedy it by changing the private brokers.

The unfaithfulness which these officers are able to commit against the Company is this. When a vessel arrives in port, the letters of the Company and the bills of lading are handed to him who commands on shore for the particular nation. This Commander assembles his Council, and sends for the broker and gives him a copy of the bill of lading.

The broker communicates it to two or three of the merchants who are in the habit of buying wholesale. If the broker and the Commander connive together to profit, the broker, instead of expediting the sale as he ought, tells these merchants privately that they have only to keep firm and offer such a price.

Then the Commander sends for the broker and these two or three merchants. He asks them in the presence of his Council what they offer for the goods mentioned in the bills of lading which have been communicated to them. If the merchants persist in saying that they will only give so much, the Commander postpones the sale for fifteen days, more or less, according as he has reason for being pressed to sell. He causes these merchants to come many times, merely for the look of the thing, and he then takes the advice of the Council in order to save appearances, and for his

own protection; after which he orders the goods to be sold at the merchant's prices.

But although the temptation is great for these two officers, on account of their power, the frequent opportunities, and the absence of their superiors from whom it is easy to conceal the truth, the Company is able, besides, by making a careful selection of these two persons, to remedy this disorder by removing the pretext which the Dutch Commanders and brokers urge, which is that they are constrained to sell quickly to the merchants, wholesale, to avoid the costs of delay.

The fault which the Dutch make is, that their officers order to be made on credit from year to year all the goods which they wish to export from the MOGUL Empire, according to the instructions they have received from BATAVIA. The credit for this advance costs them sometimes 12, sometimes 15 per cent, so that as soon as their vessels, laden with merchandise, have arrived at the port where they are due, they are obliged to sell promptly at the price which the wholesale merchants offer to the brokers in order to obtain immediate funds to repay the advances which have been made for the preparation of the goods which their vessels carry away, and to obtain credit for the manufacture of the following year.

It is this which gives opportunity for the understanding between the Commanders and their brokers with the merchants, who profit by the necessity which forces the sales, and besides, this private profit diminishes that of the Company, and a part of the clearest gain is expended in paying the interest of this loan of which we are about to speak. For this interest mounts, from time to time, more or less, according as the Commander

and the broker agree to make it increase. In the event of French vessels carrying the same goods as the Dutch, they should carry in addition money for the advances to the artisans who work in the provinces, and for a part of the price of the goods which are being made for the following year.

The Company by making this advance will not pay the high interest on the loan, namely 12 to 15 per cent, which the Dutch pay; it will have the very best goods and at the best price. All the artisans will work more willingly for it on account of this ready money.

The cargo of the vessels will be in readiness before they arrive in port. Being quickly laden they will be able to seize the good season for their return. The Company will not be compelled by necessity to sell at a bad price to three or four local wholesale merchants who have made themselves masters of the trade, whereas its brokers will be enabled to await the arrival of foreign merchants who will come to carry away its goods, or rather, because they will have the means to have them exported to the places where they will themselves be able to dispose of them.

It should be remarked, besides, that it is profitable to carry gold and silver to INDIA in bullion rather than in coin, because gold and silver are not valued in INDIA except by their standard, and because there is always a deduction on coined money on account of the cost of minting.[1]

Should the broker be unfaithful, he is, moreover, able to come to an understanding with the master of the MOGUL'S mint, established in every port in the Empire, and to value the gold or silver, coined or in

[1] See Book I, chap. ii.

bars, at a lower standard than it really is, by telling the Commander and his Council that in the assay which has been made at the mint it is found to be only of such a standard.

But it is easy to prevent this fraud, provided that the Commander is upright and intelligent, if he sends for one of the native refiners of gold and silver, who can easily be found, and who understand how to assay metals perfectly, and if he has it done in his own presence.[1]

This is what the Sieur Waikenton did for the Dutch Company, in whose name he held a factory at KÁSIMBÁZÁR, where he received each year from 6000 to 7000 bales of silk. He ascertained by this test that his broker, having an understanding with the master of the mint, cheated him of 1½ or 2 per cent on the quality of the gold and silver which was brought to him from Japan, whether it was in bar or in coin, and that the Company had been defrauded of considerable sums.

The broker is able to defraud also by having an understanding with the master of the mint, or with him who weighs the gold and silver in bars, coin, or

[1] I am indebted to Mr. J. Twigg of the N. W. P. Civil Service, for the following account of the operations of one of these native assayers, as witnessed by himself. The object assayed was an ornament consisting of an alloy of gold and silver, which was first hammered out thin; it was then heated in nitric acid, the vessel used being a broken glazed English tea-cup; after some time, the silver being then dissolved out, the thin plate of gold was removed and fused with borax, the furnace being an old clay potsherd, and the fuel charcoal burnt under a mouth blow-pipe. The resulting gold button was then weighed, and the silver was precipitated by means of a piece of copper thrown into the solution. The nitric acid had been prepared by distillation of a mixture of saltpetre and iron sulphide (Pyrites).

dust, by employing too heavy weights, or scales which are not true.

It is easy to prevent this fraud if the Commander, assisted by his Council, has them weighed in his presence with a scale and weights proved and stamped, which he keeps by him for the purpose.

One of the most important observations that is to be made on the commerce of the proposed Company and the discipline of its factors is this :—

It should forbid the merchants, sub-merchants, the scribes, and sub-scribes, who serve under the Commanders, and the brokers, and also these superior officers, from doing any trade on their own private accounts, because having communication with all the artisans, and obtaining by the correspondence from the other factories information as to the articles of merchandise which will be good for sale in the following year, they do not fail to purchase them on their own account, and ship them on the vessels of the Company to the address of their correspondents, who share the gain therefrom.

The Commander being himself interested, either by closing his eyes, or by a too great laxity, permits them to make this profit on account of their poor salaries.[1] The captain of the vessel is in league with them, because he secretly derives some advantage for allowing them to load and unload. And inasmuch as these officers have but little capital, and desire to receive the price on the return of the vessel, they direct their correspondents to sell at from 8 to 10 per cent below market price, which they can easily do, because, as I shall say further on, they do not pay custom dues

[1] See p. 48.

either at SURAT or at GOMBROON, and because they gain by this means about 26 per cent; and so this causes a considerable injury to the Company, and particularly to foreign merchants.

To remedy this disorder it is requisite to profit by the mistake of the Dutch, and to do that which they now practise, having realised the extent of this injury after an experience of many years. For, in fine, the Commander is not ignorant of the profit which there is for officials of the house when they load the goods of foreigners on the vessels of the Company, be it for HORMUZ, for BASSORA, for MOCHA, or other places. With respect to MOCHA on the RED SEA, the merchants who trade there are allowed one bale free of customs; it is for this reason that among their bales they have always one five or six times larger than the others, which ten or twelve men have difficulty in carrying.

The freight of some vessels amounts to 60,000 rupees, and when the Commander and broker are in league, they sometimes make a third, and even as much as a half, as their profits, over and above which a vessel never leaves without the Commander and his wife presenting some rewards to their most faithful servants and slaves of both sexes. To one they give permission to ship six bales, to another eight, and to another ten, more or less, and as the bales in these countries pay freight according to the value of the goods, when a merchant has any bale of great value, amounting sometimes to 20,000 rupees, he agrees for the freight at the best price he is able, and abates one half, at least, with one of these servants or slaves who has received this free permission from his master or mistress.

The pursers also take part in it, but as for the merchants and sub-merchants, they disdain for the most part these small profits, and content themselves with their own shipments. Otherwise, by another artifice, when a merchant has some bales of rich goods, as of those DECCAN caps, which are sometimes worth as much as 400 *écus*, or of these *ornis*[1] of BURHÁNPUR, of which I have spoken above, which serve to make veils for the ladies of PERSIA, CONSTANTINOPLE, and other places in ASIA and EUROPE—when, I say, a merchant has some bales of valuable goods which should pay high duty to the Prince of the place where they are to be loaded, as soon as they are on board, the purser and captain, who are in league with the merchant, place on each the Company's mark, and after reaching the store of the place where they have been landed with the goods of the Company, they are removed at night in secret to the house of the merchant.

These people are able, moreover, to make use of still another artifice. If the merchant is a friend of the Commander he settles with him, and pretending to have bought the bales of merchandise from the Company, which is free from all custom, he is released by paying the 2 per cent, the same as all those who have bought goods from the Company.[2]

The following is the remedy which can be brought to bear on this irregularity. It is necessary to establish in the principal factory a fiscal counsellor to act in the name of the King and by his authority. He should be

[1] Ornis (see vol. i, p. 52).

[2] The preceding four paragraphs are omitted in the reprint in the *Recüeil.*

independent of the General of the Company, in order that he may have the right to keep an eye upon his actions as upon those of the least of the officers.

A man of position is required for this post, who will be resolute and watchful, and who has under him a representative at each factory. Each of these representatives, in the exercise of his duties, should observe what is indicated in the following articles :—

As soon as he sees a vessel belonging to the Company in the offing, he should go at once, or sometimes, according to the season, he should await till it has cast anchor.

Then the captain of the vessel should deliver no letter to any other person, but should place all in the hands of the representative, who will deliver those of the Company to the Commander.

He should take two or three persons with him, who will remain on the vessel until it is unloaded, to see that all that is landed belongs to the Company. It is especially necessary that he should take care that the people whom he takes with him do not get drunk, for it often happens on these occasions that the officers of the vessel purposely intoxicate them when they have some contraband goods to send off the vessel, which they cleverly give to the fishing boats which bring them fish and other supplies ; this is done generally at night.

If it is a place where there are neighbouring islands, as the time is approximately known when the vessels ought to arrive, the representative of the Fiscal Counsellor should send beforehand, as far off as he can, two or three small boats, to be on the look-out round these islands, and as soon as they have dis-

covered the vessel, they should join her, to prevent any contraband goods being landed in the islands, to which the bribed persons might come to carry them secretly to whomsoever they are addressed.

He should confiscate all that he discovers in the vessel not bearing the mark of the Company, or which does not belong to foreign merchants.

He should be able to dismiss from his post the officer to whom the goods belong, if a subaltern; but if it is one of the superiors he should give notice of it to the Chief of the Factory, who, with his Council, will be able to degrade him from his office and confiscate his salary.

He may order all letters of private persons to be opened to detect this contraband trade and the parties to it. This is why the captain of the vessel is obliged to hand them over to him; but he may not open the Company's letters.

The (proceeds of this) confiscation of goods should be applied, one third to the poor of the nation, another third to the Company, and the remainder to the Fiscal and his officers, and this it is which the Dutch do.

He will also represent the King in all criminal and civil processes which come before the Commander and his Council, and he will be able to requisition and take part in the name of his Majesty in all kinds of actions.

Provided always that this officer is vigilant and a man of integrity, he will be able to render considerable service to the Company.

If the English had established such an one in their factories, they would have had greater profit; but the officers of that nation pretend that there is no superior

power capable of withdrawing the privilege from them after they have once completed their apprenticeship in LONDON, and hold the certificate of their master of having served him well for seven years.[1]

This injunction against private trade cannot be too strictly imposed. It is observed to-day with so much strictness amongst the Dutch that when a vessel of that Company is ready to leave AMSTERDAM, a Burgomaster administers to the captain and all on board a solemn oath that they will content themselves with their wages, two months' of which are given in advance, and that they will not trade on their own account; but the conduct of the Company in respect to their wages compels them, in spite of their oaths, to aid themselves by secret traffic to subsist while in their employment.

This is the artifice which they make use of to satisfy their consciences. When they have arrived in INDIA, and see themselves in the way of obtaining some good employment, they marry as quickly as possible, and trade secretly in their wives' names; this is not always permitted. And they imagine that in this way their conscience is relieved. But they are sometimes caught, and I shall give a somewhat amusing example of it, from among many others which I could recount.

[1] The salaries of the English Company's officials at this period, as stated by Dr. John Fryer, were so small that one would suppose that they could have hardly subsisted without having some private opportunities for trade. The writers had to serve five years for £10 per annum, factors had £20 for three years, merchants £40 during their stay in the service, besides free food and lodging. The President received £500 a year, of which half was reserved at home to be confiscated in case of misdemeanour, in addition to his bond of £5000. (*New Account*, Calcutta Ed., p. 70.)

The captain of a vessel,[1] a rich man, who troubled himself little about making court to the wives of the Chiefs of the Company, became a butt for their attacks, and was one day stung by some remarks made by Madame la Générale, who was talking to him at BATAVIA in the presence of many ladies, for which, without saying a word then, and well knowing all their intrigues, he resolved to avenge himself on the first occasion, which offered itself in this manner.

When this captain was about to return from PULICAT to BATAVIA, the wife of the Governor of the former place, who was in league with Madame la Générale in some private trade, believing that the captain was one of her friends, begged him to ship secretly eight bales of very valuable goods, and to have particular care that they were not wetted, in order to take them to BATAVIA; this the captain promised to do, and he placed the bales in a separate place.

Having arrived at BATAVIA, he went first, according to custom, to salute the General and to hand him the letters belonging to the Company. The General is in the habit of keeping the captains to dinner or to supper, according to the hour of their arrival. There are always present on these occasions some Councillors of INDIA, to hear the news, who remain to dine with the General.

At the close of the repast the General asked the captain what news he had from PULICAT, and if the Governor and his wife had not asked for anything to be done for them. "Nothing," replied the captain coldly, "except that Madame, the Governor's wife,

[1] This story is also told in the *Histoire de la Conduite des Hollandois en Asie*, chap. vi, where the General is called Matsuker and the captain Lucifer!

specially charged me with eight bales of goods, and to keep a good eye on them, so that they should not get damp, being articles of great value, and to deliver them on my arrival into the hands of Madame la Générale." This little-expected reply much surprised the General and those of the Council who were dining with him, and still more Madame la Générale, to whom the husband, turning, asked somewhat rudely if she carried on trade with the wife of the Governor of PULICAT, which, according to the laws of the Company, would have been criminal. Madame la Générale having stoutly defended herself, protesting that she knew nothing of what the captain had said, the General then told the latter that he must be mistaken, and there and then ordered the Fiscal to go and seize the bales, and expose them on the quay to see if they would be claimed by any merchant. After they had remained there for some days without any one presenting himself to ask for them, they were confiscated; and thus, without great noise, the captain had his revenge for the displeasure he had received at the hands of Madame la Générale.[1]

All the subaltern officers of the Factories should be promoted by steps, from that of the post of sub-writer to that of Commander, so that the expectation of this promotion should encourage them to live well, and acquire all the niceties and details of the Indian trade in order to qualify for the highest posts.

It is of the greatest importance not to show any favour in this, and that interest should not give advancement to any one without his having passed through all the steps; for one of the things which does most injury

[1] The previous four paragraphs are omitted in the *Recüeil.*

to the Dutch trade is that for some years back the higher classes in HOLLAND have sent their sons to INDIA to seek for the posts which secret trade makes so profitable. The access which they obtain, be it to the principal officers or to their wives, whose power is great in this country, causes them to be preferred, when any post becomes vacant, to those who have no other recommendation than that of their long services.

It is true that some years ago the General at BATAVIA and his Council, seeing the injury this did to the Company, wrote to the Directors that they may send people to INDIA of whatever quality they please, but that they should not send any more with recommendations; that in the future they would be of no avail, but would rather injure the advancement of their friends, it not being fair that favour should precede merit; that the General and his Council had sufficiently good eyes to recognise the fitness of those sent, and would employ them according as they were worthy and as it was considered proper.

These are all the remarks which I have been able to make in reference to the discipline of the Factories and the methods that a new Company ought to observe for its establishment in the EAST INDIES.

But I was forgetting one thing, which is of importance for a commercial Company, and to which it should pay attention. Up to this hour the Dutch observe this precaution, that they send to INDIA neither captain nor pilot who has not passed through all degrees, from a simple ship's boy up to the most important charge, and does not know how to take observations, and is not thoroughly acquainted with the coasts. Moreover these captains are not of delicate constitutions, and

content themselves for food with a piece of cheese or a slice of beef which has been in pickle for two or three years. And truly they are to be imitated in that respect. It is altogether different with some other nations, who often place on vessels captains who have never seen the sea, and whom favour alone immediately elevates to this post. In addition to which, when they embark they generally require elaborate cuisine appliances, plenty of sheep, calves, fowl, and turkeys, which consume much water, and soil the vessel with their droppings. Economy is the great support of commercial Companies, and it is an article to which those who are Directors should give their particular attention.

CHAPTER XV

Concerning diamonds, and the mines and rivers where they are found; and especially of the Author's Journey to the Mine of RAMULKOTA.[1]

THE diamond is the most precious of all stones, and it is the article of trade to which I am most devoted. In order to acquire a thorough knowledge of it I resolved to visit all the mines, and one of the two rivers where it is found; and as the fear of dangers has never restrained me in any of my journeys, the terrible picture that was drawn of these mines, as being in barbarous countries to which one could not travel except by the most dangerous routes, served neither to terrify me nor to turn me from my intention. I have accordingly been at *four* mines,[2] of which I am

[1] This is Raolconda in the original; for its identification with the modern Ramulkota, properly Rámallakota, see Book II, chap. xviii, p. 94.

[2] The four mines appear to have been—1, Ramulkota (Raolconda); 2, Kollur (*Coulour* or *Gani*); 3, *Soumelpour;* and 4, the locality on the Kistna between Ramulkota and Kollur, which, as pointed out in chap. xvi, p. 78, may have been a deserted mine near Damárapád and Malawaram. The point is not quite clear, as in chap. xviii *two* mines near Ramulkota are mentioned, but there cannot be said to be descriptions of more than three mines in the text. There is ample reason for believing that the diamond mines existing in India in Tavernier's time were far more numerous than he had any conception of (see *Economic Geology of India*, pp. 1-50, and *Appendix* to this volume). The two rivers he mentions seem to be—1, the Pennair River, below Gandikot, probably in the neighbourhood of Chenur (see vol. i, p. 288); and 2, the river he did not visit, which was in Borneo (see chap. xvii).

about to give descriptions, and at one of the two rivers whence diamonds are obtained, and I have encountered there neither the difficulties nor the barbarities with which those imperfectly acquainted with the country had sought to terrify me. Thus I am able to claim that I have cleared the way for others, and that I am the first European who has opened the route for the *Franks*[1] to these mines, which are

[1] Tavernier was not aware that he had been preceded by other European visitors to the mines, *e.g.* Cæsar Frederick and Methold (see p. 72 *n.*), and, as stated in the previous note, he was probably mistaken as to these being the only mines in India which were known in his time; besides many in Southern India, those at Panna in Bundelkhand, Sambalpur on the Mahánadi, and Wairágarh—the Beiragarh of the *Ain-i-Akbari*—were almost certainly open then. We have, too, evidence of the working of a mine by a European at an earlier date. A paper presented by the Earl Marshal of England to the Royal Society (*Phil. Trans.*, vol. xii, 1677, p. 907) states that about the commencement of the seventeenth century (say 1610) a Portuguese gentleman went to Currure, *i.e.* Wajra Karur in the Bellary District, and expended a large sum of money, namely 100,000 *pagodas*, in searching for diamonds without success. He then sold everything he had with him, even to his clothes, and on the last day upon which he could pay the wages of the workmen he had prepared a cup of poison which he intended to take that night if no diamonds were found. In the evening a fine stone of 26 *pagodas'* weight was brought to him by the workmen. The figures given in the paper indicate a value of 53 troy grains for the *pagoda*; at that rate 26 *pagodas* would be equal to 1378 troy grains, or 434.7 carats. The recognised equivalent of the *pagoda* is something less, namely 52.56 troy grains (Kelly, *Universal Cambist*). In the same mine, we are told, diamonds of a *seize* (? *Seer*) weight, namely 9 ounces troy, or 81½ *pagodas*, *i.e.* 1362.6 carats, had been found; and as Mir Jumla took possession of this mine, together with the Carnatic, one cannot help suggesting that it may have been here that the Great Mogul's diamond was found, although Kollur is particularly mentioned by Tavernier as the mine which produced it. To return to the above-mentioned Portuguese, he took the stone with him to Goa, and to commemorate its discovery put up a stone tablet, on which the following lines were engraved in the Telegu language:—

"Your wife and children sell, sell what you have,
Spare not your clothes, nay, make yourself a slave,
But money get, then to CURRURE make haste,
There search the mines, a prize you'll find at last."

the only places in the world where the diamond is found.[1]

The first of the mines which I visited is situated in the territory of the King of BIJAPUR in the Province of CARNATIC, and the locality is called RAMULKOTA,[2] situated five days' journey from GOLCONDA,[3] and eight or nine from BIJAPUR. The fact that the two Kings of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR were formerly subject to the MOGUL, and were then only Governors of the Provinces which they acquired by their revolt, caused it to be said, and makes it said still by some people, that the diamonds come from the Kingdom of the GREAT MOGUL. It is only about 200 years since this mine of RAMULKOTA was discovered, at least so far as I have been able to ascertain from the people of the country.[4]

All round the place where the diamonds are found the soil is sandy, and full of rocks and jungle, somewhat comparable to the neighbourhood of FONTAINEBLEAU. There are in these rocks many veins, some of half a finger in width and some of a whole finger; and the

[1] He here forgets Borneo (see chap. xvii).

[2] Raolconda in the original. By means of the route given on p. 94 this locality has been identified with Ramulkota, about 20 miles south of Karnul (Kurnool), where excavations are to be seen to this day (*vide Economic Geology of India*, p. 15). The position is fairly indicated on the small map of India which accompanies the Revised French Edition of *Tavernier's Travels*, published at Rouen in 1713. The identification both of it and Coulour have foiled many investigators both in this and the last century. But it is needless to refer here to the various suggestions as to their identification, as the question is now fully set at rest by the identification of the stages on the routes to these mines.

[3] On p. 94 the distance is given as being 17 *gos* or 68 French leagues. The true distance by the direct route is about 120 English miles.

[4] This evidence for the antiquity of the mine is of but little value, and cannot be relied on.

miners have small irons, crooked at the ends, which they thrust into the veins in order to draw from them the sand or earth,[1] which they place in vessels; and it is in this earth that they afterwards find the diamonds. But as the veins do not always run straight, and some ascend, while others descend, they are obliged to break the rocks, always following the direction of the veins. After they have opened them out, and have removed the earth or sand which may be there, they then commence to wash it two or three times, and search in it for whatever diamonds it may contain. It is in this mine that the cleanest and whitest watered diamonds are found; but the evil is that in order to extract the sand more easily from the rocks they strike such blows with a heavy iron crowbar that it fractures the diamonds, and gives rise to flaws. It is for this reason that so many thin stones come from this mine, for when the miners see a stone in which the flaw is of some size, they immediately cleave it, that is to say split it, at which they are much more accomplished than we are. These are the stones which we call thin ("*foible*"), which make a great show. If the stone is clean they do not do more than just touch it with the wheel above and below, and do not venture to give it any form, for fear of reducing the weight. But if it has a small flaw, or any spots, or small black or red grit, they cover the whole of the stone with facettes in order that its defects may not be seen, and if it has a very small flaw they conceal it by the edge of one of the facettes. But it

[1] This description and what follows indicate that the mining was carried on in the rock, not in detrital beds. It is, indeed, now known that the matrix at Ramulkota is an old pebble conglomerate belonging to the "Karnul" series.

should be remarked that the merchant prefers a black point in a stone to a red one. When there is a red one the stone is roasted, and the point becomes black. This trick was at length so well understood by me that when I examined a parcel of stones which came from this mine, and saw that there were facettes on any of them, especially small facettes, I was certain that there was some speck or flaw in the stone.

There are at this mine numerous diamond-cutters, and each has only a steel wheel of about the size of our plates. They place but one stone on each wheel, and pour water incessantly on the wheel until they have found the "grain" of the stone.[1] The "grain" being found, they pour on oil and do not spare diamond dust, although it is expensive, in order to make the stone run faster, and they weight it much more heavily than we do.

I have known them to weight a stone with 150 *livres* of lead. It is true that it was a large stone, which still weighed 103 carats after it had been cut, and that the mill was like ours, the large wheel of which was turned by four blacks. The Indians are not of the same opinion as we are, in that they do not believe that weighting them causes flaws in the stones. If theirs do not receive any it is because they always have a small boy who, holding in his hand a very thin wooden spoon, anoints the wheel incessantly with oil and diamond powder. Added to which their wheel does not go so fast as ours, because the wooden wheel which causes the steel one to revolve is seldom more than 3 feet in diameter.

[1] The word in the original is *chemin*, or "way" of the stone. It refers to the discovery of the position of the lines of cleavage, which determines the method to be adopted in the treatment of the stone.

The Indians are unable to give the stones so lively a polish as we give them in EUROPE; and this, I believe, is due to the fact that their wheel does not run so smoothly as ours. For, being made of steel, in order to grind it on the emery, of which it has need every twenty-four hours, it has to be taken off the tree, and it cannot be replaced so as to run as evenly as it should do. If they possessed the iron wheel as we do, for which one does not require emery but the file, it not being necessary to remove it from the tree in order to file it, they could give the stones a better polish than they do.

I have stated that it is necessary to rub the wheel with emery or to file it every twenty-four hours, and it is desirable that it should be done every twelve hours if the workman is not lazy. For when the stone has run a certain time the part of the wheel where it has pressed becomes polished like a mirror, and if the place be not roughened by emery or the file, the powder does not stick to it. When it remains one does more work in one hour than in two when there is not any on the wheel.

Although a particular diamond may be by nature hard, having, so to speak, a kind of knot,[1] such as is seen in wood, the Indian diamond-cutters would not hesitate to cut such a stone, although our diamond-cutters in Europe would experience great difficulty in

[1] Certain points of a stone are often found to be exceptionally hard, as, for instance, when a facet is cut on the angle where two cleavage planes meet, or, so to speak, across the grain of the stone. (See p. 57 *n.*) A difficulty of this nature is mentioned by Messrs. Garrard as having been experienced when the *Koh-i-nur* was recut. (See Professor Tennant's lecture *On Gems and Precious Stones*, Society of Arts, 1852, p. 86.)

doing so, and as a general rule would be unwilling to undertake it; but one pays the Indians something extra for their trouble.

I come to the government at the mines. Business is conducted with freedom and fidelity. Two per cent on all purchases is paid to the King, who receives also a royalty from the merchants for permission to mine. These merchants having prospected with the aid of the miners, who know the spots where the diamonds are to be found, take an area of about 200 paces in circumference, where they employ fifty miners, and sometimes a hundred if they wish the work to proceed rapidly. From the day that they commence mining till they finish the merchants pay a duty of 2 *pagodas*[1] *per diem* for fifty men, and 4 *pagodas* when they employ a hundred men.

These poor people only earn 3 *pagodas*[2] per annum, although they must be men who thoroughly understand their work. As their wages are so small they do not manifest any scruple, when searching in the sand, about concealing a stone for themselves when they can, and being naked, save for a small cloth which covers their private parts, they adroitly contrive to swallow it.[3] The chief of all the merchants who embark in mining

[1] Say 16s.

[2] Equal to about one rupee or 27 pence per mensem, or less than a penny a day. In some remote parts of India labour can still be obtained at about that rate, or from 3 *pice* to an *anna*, *i.e.* 1⅛d. to 1½d.

[3] Owing to the belief which exists in India that diamond dust is a poison, it is thought by some persons that native miners would not swallow diamonds. I have seen several authentic records of their having done so. Garcia de Orta, for instance, refers to cases as evidence that the diamond is not poisonous. Once a diamond had been smuggled away from the mines, its possessor was not only safe, but if it was of large size, and he offered it to either the King of Golconda or the King of Bijapur, he had every

one day pointed out to me one of these miners, who had worked for him for many years, and who had stolen a stone from him which weighed a *mangelin*, *i.e.* nearly two of our carats.[1] He had concealed it in the corner of his eye, but it was taken from him as soon as the theft was discovered. In order to prevent these knavish tricks there are always twelve to fifteen watchmen employed by the merchants to see that they are not defrauded of anything.

If by chance a stone is found which weighs above 7 to 8 *mangelins*, it is taken to the master of the mine, who by way of recompence gives a *sarpo*,[2] which is a piece of cotton cloth to make a turban, of the value of 25 to 30 *sols*,[3] and generally with it half a *pagoda* in silver, or otherwise a *pagoda*,[4] when rice and a plate of sugar are not given.

The merchants who go to the mine to buy, remain in their dwellings, and every morning at from 10 to 11 o'clock the masters of the miners, after they have dined (for the *Banians* never leave their houses till they have washed and eaten), take their diamonds to show to them. If the parcels are large, and contain many stones of the value of from 2000 up to 15,000 or 16,000 *écus*,[5] they leave them, confiding them to the foreign merchant for seven or eight days or more in order that he may examine them with care. When the

chance of selling it well, and being presented with a robe of honour. (See the *Account of the Diamonds, etc.*, presented to the Royal Society by the Earl Marshal of England, *Phil. Trans.*, vol. xii, 1677, p. 907.)

[1] See Appendix, vol. i.

[2] This is *Sirpão*, or more properly *Sar-o-pá*, a complete dress of honour, from head to foot. (See Yule in *Hedge's Diary*, vol. i, p. 136 *n.*)

[3] 1s. 10½d. to 2s. 3d.

[4] About 8s., if new *pagodas*.

[5] £450 to £3600.

stones have been examined, and are returned by the merchant, if they suit him he should conclude the transaction at once, otherwise the owner of the stones wraps them in a corner of his waistband, his turban, or his shirt, and departs, so that one never sees the same stones again, or at least they are mixed with others, should the miner return in order to bring another parcel. When the transaction is concluded the purchaser gives an order for payment on the *Shroff* or person who issues and receives bills of exchange. If you have agreed to pay in three or four days, and delay longer, you have to pay interest at the rate of 1½ per cent per month. Most frequently, when the merchant is known to be solvent, a bill of exchange on AGRA, GOLCONDA, or BIJAPUR is preferred, but more especially one upon SURAT, where, as it is the most famous port in INDIA, the dealers desire to purchase the commodities which come in vessels from foreign countries, and which are suitable for their wants.

It is very pleasant to see the young children of these merchants and of other people of the country, from the age of ten years up to the age of fifteen or sixteen, assemble every morning under a large tree which is in the square of the town. Each has his diamond weights in a little bag suspended on one side, and on the other a purse attached to his waistband, which contains as much as 500 or 600 gold *pagodas*. They seat themselves there awaiting the arrival of any one who wishes to sell diamonds, either of the place itself or of some other mine. When any one brings a stone he places it in the hands of the eldest of these children, who is, so to speak, the chief of the band; he looks at it and places it in the hand of him who sits next. Thus it

goes from hand to hand till it returns to the first one without any one saying a word.

He then asks the price of the article, in order to purchase, if possible; and if by chance he buys at too high a price he is responsible. In the evening these children count up what they have purchased, and after examining the stones separate them according to their water, weight, and cleanness. Next they price each as they expect to dispose of them to strangers, and by this they see how far the value exceeds the cost of purchase. They then carry them to the great merchants who always have a number of parcels to match, and all the profit is divided among the children, save only that their chief receives a quarter per cent more than the others.

Young as they are, they know the value of all the stones so well that if one of them has bought a stone and is willing to lose a half per cent, another gives him cash for it. Seldom can you show them a parcel of stones, containing a dozen, where they will not discover among them four or five having some flaw or some point or some defect at the angles.

It remains to be said that these Indians have much regard for strangers, and especially for those whom they call *Franks*.[1] Immediately on my arrival at the mine I went to call upon the Governor of the place, who also rules the Province on behalf of the King of BIJAPUR. He is a MUHAMMADAN, who having embraced me, assured me I was welcome—not doubting that I had brought gold with me (for at all the mines of GOL-

[1] *Fringuis* for *Franguis* in the original, for Franks, *i.e.* Europeans. (See vol. i, p. 6.)

CONDA and BIJAPUR they speak but of new *pagodas*,[1] which are golden coins), and that I had only to place it in my lodging, where it would be safe, and he would be responsible for all I had. Besides the servants whom I brought with me he allotted me four others, and commanded them to keep a watch on my gold by day and night, and to obey all my orders. Shortly after I had left him he sent to recall me, and on my return: "I sent to seek you," he said, "in order to assure you again that you have nothing to fear—eat, drink, and sleep, and have a care for your health. I have forgotten to tell you to be careful not to defraud the King, to whom 2 per cent is due on all your purchases. Do not attempt," he continued, "to do as some Muhammadans did who came to the mine, and combined with the merchants and some brokers to withhold the royalties of the King—saying that they had only purchased to the value of 10,000 *pagodas*, while they had invested more than 50,000." I then commenced to purchase, and saw that there was a sufficiently large profit to be made, all being 20 per cent cheaper than at GOLCONDA, in addition to which, one sometimes, by chance, met with large stones.

One day towards evening a *Banian*, poorly clothed, having indeed only a band round his body and a miserable handkerchief on his head, came towards me politely and seated himself by my side. In this country one pays no attention to dress, and a person who has but a miserable ell of calico about his loins may sometimes have a good parcel of diamonds concealed. I, on my part, treated the *Banian* with civility, and after

[1] They were worth about 8s., more exactly 3½ rupees. (See vol. i, p. 413.)

he had been for some time seated by me he asked me through my interpreter[1] if I wished to buy some rubies. The interpreter told him to show them to me, upon which he drew a number of small rags from his waist-band, in which he had about a score of rings mounted with rubies. After I had examined them I said that they were too small for me and that I sought large stones. Nevertheless, remembering that I had been asked by a lady at Ispahan to bring her a ruby ring of the value of about 100 *écus*, I bought one of his rings which cost me nearly 400 *francs*. I knew well that he did not value it at more than 300 *francs*, but willingly risked the additional 100 *francs* in the belief that he had not sought me to sell the rubies only, and because I understood from his manner that he desired to be alone with me and my interpeter in order to show me something better. As the time of prayer of the MUHAMMADANS approached, three of the servants appointed by the Governor left, and the fourth remaining to wait upon me, I found an excuse for getting rid of him by sending him to buy bread, where he remained a sufficiently long time. For all the people of this country being idolaters, content themselves with rice, not eating bread, and when a person wishes for it it is necessary to have it brought from a distance, from the fortress of the King of BIJAPUR, where the MUHAMMADANS reside. The *Banian*, seeing that he was alone with me and the interpreter, after having, with a good deal of mystery, removed his headdress, untwisted his locks, which, according to the

[1] From this and other similar references we learn that Tavernier did not acquire a knowledge of the native languages. The fact is indeed referred to contemptuously by some of his critics, especially Chardin.

usual custom, were bound round his head. Then I observed a small rag appearing amongst these locks, in which there was concealed a diamond, weighing 48½ of our carats, of beautiful water and of *cabuchon* shape, three-quarters of the stone clear, save for a small flaw which was on one side and appeared to penetrate some distance into the stone. The remaining quarter was full of flaws and red spots.

While I examined the stone, the *Banian*, seeing the attention which I gave to it, said, "Do not trouble yourself now, you will see it to-morrow morning at your leisure when you are alone. When a fourth of the day has passed," it is thus that they speak,[1] "you will find me outside the town, and if you wish for the stone you will bring the price of it with you," and he then stated the amount he wanted for it. For it should be stated *en passant* that after this fourth of the day the *Banians*, both male and female, disappear into the city or town where they dwell, both for the purpose of satisfying the ordinary necessities of nature and for the purpose of bathing, as well as for the prayers which their priests require them to repeat. The *Banian* having named this hour—because he did not wish any one to see us together—I did not fail to go in search of him, and carried with me the price he had asked, less by 200 *pagodas*, which I kept apart, in reserve. But in the end, after we had bargained for a short time, I gave him 100 *pagodas* extra. On my return to SURAT I sold the stone to a Dutch captain, from which transaction I earned a fair profit.

Three days after I had bought this stone a

[1] The day is divided into four *pahars* which terminate at 9 A.M., 12 M., 3 P.M. and 6 P.M.

messenger arrived from GOLCONDA who had been sent by an Apothecary, named BOËTE, whom I had left at GOLCONDA to receive and take care of a part of my money, and in the event of the *Shroff* paying in rupees, he was to change them into golden *pagodas*. The day following that upon which he had received payment, he was seized by so serious a disorder in the stomach that he died in a few days. By the letter which he wrote to me he informed me of his sickness, and that he had received my money, which was all in my chamber in sealed bags: but, as he did not believe that he would survive two days, he exhorted me to hasten my return, because he did not think that my money would be safe in the hands of the servants whom I had left with him. Immediately on receipt of this letter I waited on the Governor in order to take leave of him, at which he was astonished, and inquired if I had expended all my money. I replied that I had not spent half of it, and that I had still upwards of [illegible] *pagodas*. He then said that if I wished he would afford me an opportunity of investing it, and that I should certainly not lose upon what he would enable me to buy. He further asked if I was willing to show him my purchases, although he was not ignorant of their extent, since those who sold were obliged to make a return of all to him, on account of the charge of [illegible] which is due to the King by those who buy. I showed him then what I had bought, and [illegible] who had [illegible] me. This agreed with the [illegible] who received the King's dues.

[illegible] author's transac-[illegible] largely on commis-[illegible]

At the same time I paid him the 2 per cent for the King's dues, having received which he remarked that he perceived that the *Franks* were persons of good faith. He was the more persuaded of this, however, when, drawing forth the stone of 48½ carats, I said, "Sir, this is not in the *Banian's* book, and there is no one in the town who knows that I have bought it, nor would you yourself had I not told you. I do not wish to defraud the King of his rights—here is what is due to him on account of the price paid by me for this stone."[1] The Governor appeared altogether surprised and much edified by my proceeding; he praised me much, and said that this was an action worthy of an honest man, and that there was not another merchant in the country, whether Muhammadan or Hindu, who would act in the same manner if he believed that no one was aware of what he had purchased. Upon this he summoned the richest merchants of the place, and having told them the facts, ordered them to bring with them the best stones they possessed. This was done by three or four of them, and thus I expended my 20,000 *pagodas* in one or two hours. The transaction having been completed and the money paid, he told the merchants that as they had dealings with an honest man they ought to present me with a souvenir. This they did with a good grace, giving me a diamond worth nearly 100 *écus*.[2] As for the Governor himself, he gave me a turban and waistband.

I have to record a rather singular and curious account of the manner in which the Indians, whether

[1] Unlike his usual habit of giving prices, Tavernier carefully omits all mention of what he paid for this stone.

[2] £22 : 10s.

they are idolaters or Muhammadans, make their sales of all kinds of commodities. All passes in complete silence and without any one speaking.[1] The seller and the buyer are seated facing one another, like two tailors, and one of the two opening his waistband the seller takes the right hand of the buyer and covers his own with the waistband, under which, in the presence of many other merchants, who occupy themselves sometimes in the same manner, the sale is accomplished secretly without any one having cognisance of it. For the seller and buyer talk neither by means of their lips nor their eyes, but only by the hand, which they manage to do in the following manner:—When the seller takes the whole hand of the buyer that means 1000, and as many times as he presses it so many thousands of *pagodas* or rupees, according to the coin which may be in question. When he takes only five fingers that means 500, and when he takes only one it means 100. In taking only the half up to the middle joint, 50 is meant, and the end of the finger up to the first signifies 10. This is the whole of the mystery employed by the Indians in their sales, and it often happens that in the same place, where there are many people, a single parcel will change hands five or six times without those present knowing for how much it has been sold on each occasion. As for the weight of the stones, one need not be deceived if he does not buy in secret. For when one buys them in public there is a man specially employed by the King to weigh diamonds,

[1] This system of selling by means of secret signs has often been described by Indian travellers. For a recent account of it reference may be made to the *St. James' Gazette*, January 20, 1887; and for early notices see *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. "Sofala," p. 645.

who receives no fees from private persons. When he names the weight, both buyer and seller accept his statement, since he has no interest in favouring either party.

Having completed my business at the mine, the Governor gave me six horsemen, in order that I might traverse, with greater security, the tract under his authority, which extends up to a river[1] separating the Kingdom of BIJAPUR from that of GOLCONDA. The transit of this river is very difficult, because it is wide, deep, and rapid, and there is neither bridge nor boat. In order to cross it the same contrivances are used as those of which I have elsewhere spoken for the passage of certain Indian rivers, alike for men as for their goods, carriages, cattle, and horses.

A round vessel of 10 or 12 feet in diameter made of branches of osier, like our hampers, and covered outside with ox hides, serves in place of a boat,[2] and I have described in the same place how the passengers adjust themselves. Good boats or a bridge over this river might be provided, but the Kings of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR do not allow them, because the river serves to separate the two Kingdoms.

Every evening the boatmen on both banks are obliged to report to the two sub-governors, who reside on either side, at about a quarter of a league from the river, an exact statement of the people, beasts of burden, and merchandise which have crossed during the day.

[1] *I.e.* the Kistná with its tributary the Bhimá which separated the ancient Kingdoms.

[2] Coracles (see vol. i, pp. 294 and 299). Tavernier is probably not correct in saying that they were made of osiers or willow; more probably they were made of bamboo.

When I arrived at GOLCONDA, three days had elapsed since the death of BOËTE, the apothecary, and the room where I had left him had been sealed with two seals—one being of the *Kázi*, who corresponds to the Chief Justice, and the other of the *Sháh-Bandar*, who is the Provost of the merchants. An officer of justice watched the door of the chamber together with the servants whom I had left with the defunct. Immediately on my arrival the fact was announced to the *Kázi* and the *Sháh-Bandar*, and forthwith they sent to seek for me.

After I had saluted them, the *Kázi* asked me whether the money which was in the chamber of the defunct was mine, and how I could prove it. I said I had not any better proof to give him than the letters of exchange which I had given to the *Shroff*, and that since my departure he had by my orders paid the sum to the defunct; that I had instructed the latter in case the *Shroff* paid in silver to change it into golden *pagodas*, and forward them to me. Upon this reply which I made to them, they sent to call the two *Shroffs* who had paid my bills, to know if it was true, and as they averred that it was, the *Kázi* forthwith ordered his lieutenant to go and open the door of the room, and see if the seals were intact on all the bags. He did not leave till he had my assurance that I had found the full sum, and nothing was wanting.

I returned with him to make the same declaration to the *Kázi* and the *Sháh Bandar*, and to thank them for their trouble, and it ended by my signing a document which they had written in Persian, in which I testified my satisfaction.

The lieutenant told me that I must pay the

charges of the burial of BOËTE, and those due to the persons who had placed the seals, as well as those of the officer who had kept guard at the door of the chamber. These all amounted to but 9 rupees, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ *écus* of our money.[1] One would not have got off so easily in most places in EUROPE.

[1] *I.e.* £1 : 0 : 3.

CHAPTER XVI

Journey of the Author to the other Mines, and concerning the method of searching for Diamonds.

AT seven days' journey eastwards from GOLCONDA there is another diamond mine, called GANI in the language of the country, and COULOUR in the Persian tongue.[1]

[1] This mine has been identified in the *Economic Geology of India*, by the routes in vol. i, p. 173, and vol. ii, p. 94, with Kollur on the Kistná, where, according to a MS. map by Col. Mackenzie, there was a mine in 1798. The word *Gani* is equivalent to the Persian *Kán-i*, signifying "mine of." It is found in use by writers of the present century in connection with another mine, namely *Gani*-Partiál. It is the title for this mine most commonly used in works on mineralogy and precious stones, sometimes considerably modified in spelling, as *Garee*, etc. But it cannot be correctly used as the *name* of the mine where the Great Mogul or any other diamond was found. The date assigned to the discovery of this mine by Tavernier, namely about the middle of the sixteenth century, is of no value any more than the period assigned for the discovery of the Ramulkota mine. One hundred years, the native estimate, means a long time, that is all.

Somewhere about the year 1622, William Methold, together with Sir Andreas Socory and Sir Adolf Thomason, visited from Masulipatam certain diamond mines, which the first-named describes as being situated "*at the foot of a great mountayne, not far from a river called Christena*," the mining town being 2 miles off, and distant 108 English miles, or 12 *Gentine* leagues (*gows*, or *gos?*) from Masulipatam. In all respects, save as regards the distance, the description of the mines and the methods of working correspond with Tavernier's account of *Coulour* or *Gani*, *i.e.* Kollur. The distance given by Tavernier is 36 coss, or 72 miles from Masulipatam—the true distance is about 100 miles.

In the *Histoire Generale des Voyages*, vol. xiii, p. 20, Methold is

It is close to a large town on the same river which I crossed when coming from the other mine,[1] and at a league and a half from the town there are high mountains which are in the form of a cross. The space which intervenes between the town and the mountains is a plain where the mine is situated and the diamonds are found. The nearer one searches towards the mountains the larger the stones which are found, but when one ascends too high nothing is found.[2]

It is only about 100 years since this mine was discovered, and it was by means of a poor man, who, digging a piece of ground where he purposed to sow millet, found a *point naive*[3] weighing nearly 25 carats. This kind of stone being unknown to him, and appearing to him something special, he carried it to GOLCONDA, and by good luck addressed himself to one who traded in diamonds. This trader having ascertained from the peasant the place where he had found the stone, was much surprised to see a diamond of such a weight,

misquoted as though he said the mines were but 2 leagues from Golconda, whereas he says 2 miles from the temporary town, containing 100,000 persons, which had grown up in connection with the mines. He says that they were closed for a time, in consequence of a demand made by the Mogul for a *vyse* (*i.e.* 3 lbs. English) of the finest diamonds. The farmer paid the King 300,000 *pagodas*, say £120,000, per annum for the mine, the King retaining all stones above 10 carats. This sum is possibly an exaggeration—*vide* Purchas's *Pilgrims*, 1626, vol. v, p. 1002. There is, as already stated, an account of the diamond mines of Golconda and Bijapur in the *Phil. Trans.*, vol. xii, No. 136, 1677. Ruins of houses, etc., and old mines are still to be seen at Kollur. (See *Kistna Manual*, pp. 170 and 244.)

[1] *I.e.* the Kistná, crossed on the route from Raolconda (*i.e.* Ramulkota) to Golconda (see p. 69).

[2] The probable explanation of this is that the diamond-bearing strata do not extend far up the slope.

[3] This term was applied to natural octahedra and other modifications of the cube which the diamond assumes.

especially because, before that, the largest that had been seen did not exceed 10 or 12 carats.[1]

The noise of this new discovery quickly spread abroad throughout all the country, and some persons of wealth in the town commenced to mine in this land, where they found, and where they still find, large stones in greater abundance than in any other mine.[2] There are found here at present, I say, a quantity of stones from 10 up to 40 carats, and sometimes indeed much larger; but among others the great diamond which weighed 900 carats before cutting, which MIR JUMLA presented to AURANGZEB,[3] as I have elsewhere related, was obtained from the mine.

But if this mine of KOLLÚR is of importance on account of the number of large stones which are found there, it is a misfortune that, as a rule, these stones are not clear, and that their water contains indications

[1] This statement is quite incorrect, as will be seen in Appendix I.

[2] In the paper in the *Phil. Trans.*, which has just been referred to, the largest diamonds are said to have been obtained at the mine of Currure, *i.e.* Wajra Kurur in Bellary, where some of a *seize* (*seer?*) weight = 9 ounces troy, or 81½ *pagodas*, were reported to have been discovered. This mine, though unknown to Tavernier, had been taken possession of by Mir Jumla about the year 1640? Probably there is some mistake in the weight.

In the same paper this Kollur mine is called Quolure, it is said to have been the first mine used in the Kingdom, but was then nearly exhausted. Many of the diamonds found there were well formed and pointed, and of good lively white water, others were yellow, brown, etc., and had a greenish transparent skin. The weights ranged from 6 to a mangelin up to 5 or 6, and even rarely 10, 15 or 20 mangelins each. In consequence of its exhaustion, the King permitted the mine at Melwillee, *i.e.* Mulavilly or Muléli, to be regularly worked in the year 1673.

[3] This statement contains two mistakes. The stone was presented by Mir Jumla to Sháh Jahán, not to Aurangzeb, and in three other places Tavernier gives its weight as 900 *ratis* or upwards, not carats; the latter misprint has unfortunately often been quoted. (See Appendix I.)

of the quality of the soil where they are found. If the soil is marshy and humid, the stone tends to blackness; if it is reddish, it tends to red, and so with the other conditions, sometimes towards green, sometimes towards yellow, just as there is diversity of soil in the area between the town and the mountain. Upon the majority of these stones, after they are cut, there always appears a kind of grease which necessitates one always carrying a handkerchief in the hand in order to wipe them.

As regards the water of the stones, it is to be remarked that instead of, as in Europe, where we employ daylight for the examination of stones in the rough (*brutes*), and, so, carefully judge of their water and any flaws which they may contain, the Indians use the night; and in a hole which they excavate in a wall, one foot square, they place a lamp with a large wick, by the light of which they judge of the water and the cleanness of the stone, holding it between their fingers. The water which they term "celestial" is the worst of all, and it is impossible to ascertain whether it is present while the stone is in the rough. But little though it may be apparent on the mill, the never-failing test for correctly ascertaining the water is afforded by conveying the stone under a leafy tree, and in the green shadow one can easily detect if it is blue.

The first time I was at this mine there were close upon 60,000 persons who worked there, including men, women, and children, who are employed in diverse ways, the men in digging, the women and children in carrying earth, for they search for the stones at this mine in an altogether different manner from that practised at RAMULKOTA.

After the miners have selected the place where they desire to work, they smooth down another spot close by, and of equal or rather greater extent, around which they erect an enclosing wall of two feet in height.

At the base of this little wall they make openings, at every two feet, for the escape of the water, which they close till it is time for the water to be drawn off. This place being thus prepared, all who are about to engage in the search assemble, men, women, and children, together with their employer and a party of his relatives and friends. He brings with him a figure in stone of the god whom they worship, which being placed standing on the ground, each prostrates himself three times before it, their priest, however, offering up the prayer. This prayer being finished, he makes a particular kind of mark upon the forehead of each one with a paste composed of saffron and gum, in order that it may sustain seven or eight grains of rice, which he places upon it. Next, having washed their bodies with the water which each of them carries in a vessel, they place themselves in ranks to eat that which is presented at the feast given by their employer at the beginning of their work, in order to give them courage and induce them to acquit themselves faithfully. This feast merely consists of a portion of rice to each, which is distributed by the *Brahmin*, because every idolater can eat what is served to him by the hands of the priests. There are among them some so superstitious that they will not even eat what is prepared by their own wives, and prefer to cook for themselves.[1] The plate upon which the rice is placed is made of the

[1] This is, I believe, still true of some castes.

leaves of a tree attached together; to some extent they resemble our walnut leaves.[1] To each there is also given about a quarter of a pound of melted butter in a little cup of copper, with some sugar.

The repast being finished, each commences to work, the men to excavate the earth, and the women and children to carry it to the place which has been prepared as I have above said. They excavate to 10, 12, or 14 feet in depth, but when they reach water there is nothing more to hope for. All the earth being carried to this place, men, women, and children raise the water with pitchers from the hole which they have excavated, and throw it upon the earth which they have placed there, in order to soften it, leaving it thus for one or two days, according to the tenacity of the clay, until it assumes the condition of soup. This being done, they open the holes which they made in the wall to let off the water, then they throw on more, so that all the slime may be removed, and nothing remain but sand. It is a kind of clay which requires to be washed two or three times. They then leave all to be dried by the sun, which is quickly effected on account of the great heat. They have a particular kind of basket made something like a winnowing fan, in which they place the earth, which they agitate as we do when winnowing grain. The fine part is blown away, and the coarse stuff which remains is subsequently replaced on the ground.

All the earth having been thus winnowed, they

[1] In Western Bengal these would be the leaves of the Sál, *Shorea robusta*, Gærtn, the giant creeper, *Bauhinia vahlii*, W. and A., or the *Dhák* or *Pulas*, *Butea frondosa Roxb.* I cannot say what species would be used in the region referred to by Tavernier.

spread it with a rake and make it as level as possible. They then all stand together on the earth, each with a large baton of wood like a huge pestle, half a foot wide at the base, and they pound the earth, going from one end to the other, always pounding each part two or three times; they then again place it in the baskets and winnow, as they did on the first occasion, after which they spread it out again and range themselves on one side to handle the earth and search for the diamonds, in which process they adopt the same method as at RAMULKOTA. Formerly, instead of using wooden pestles for pounding the earth, they pounded it with stones, and it was that method which produced so many flaws in the diamonds.

As for the royalties which are paid to the King, the annual wages to the miners for their work, and the presents which are given to them when they find any large stone which they carry to the master whom they serve, all are the same as at the RAMULKOTA mine.[1] No one hesitated formerly to purchase diamonds which had a green crust on the surface, because when cut they proved to be white and of very beautiful water.

About thirty or forty years ago a mine situated between KOLLUR and RAMULKOTA[2] was discovered, but the King ordered it to be closed on account of fraud, as I shall explain in a few words. Stones were found in it which had this green crust, beautiful and transparent, they were even more beautiful than the others, but when one attempted to grind them they broke in pieces.

[1] *Vide ante*, p. 59.

[2] I have elsewhere suggested (see *Economic Geology of India*, p. 16) that this mine was situated near Damárapád and Malawaram on the Kistna in Lat. 16° 35′, Long. 79° 30′, where old excavations are still to be seen.

Whenever they were ground by another stone of the same quality which had been found in the same mine they submitted to the grinding without breaking, but were unable to bear the wheel, upon which they immediately flew into pieces. It is on this account that one is careful not to buy those which have been ground in this way, through fear of their breaking, and it is, as I said, on account of the deceptions which have been practised with these stones that the King ordered the mine to be closed.[1]

While the Messrs. FREMLIN and FRANCIS BRETON were Presidents at SURAT on behalf of the English Company, a Jew named EDWARD FERDINAND, a free merchant, that is to say not subject to any Company, combined with these two gentlemen to purchase a stone, a short time after the mine was discovered. This stone was clean and of good form, and weighed 42 carats.[2] EDWARD went to EUROPE, and Messrs. FREMLIN and BRETON placed the stone in his hands to sell to the best advantage, and render an account to them. On his arrival at LEGHORN[3] he showed it to

[1] A little known but very important paper on the diamond mines of Golconda, of which twenty-three are named, and of Visapore, *i.e.* Bijapur, of which fifteen are named, is to be found in the *Phil. Trans.*, No. 136, June 25, 1677, vol. xii, p. 907. The anonymous author must have been in that part of India within ten or fifteen years of Tavernier's last visit. It is but quite recently that I found this paper, unfortunately too late to make the full use to which it might have been put in these footnotes. It contains names which have long puzzled me owing to the confused way in which they have been introduced into the literature of the subject. It has been referred to already on pp. 54 and 74, and will be quoted again in Appendix II.

[2] The extent to which investments in diamonds for themselves and their friends in England were made by English officials at a later period is very fully brought out in the letters recently published by Colonel Yule in his account of the Pitt diamond (See *Hedge's Diary*, *Hakluyt Society*).

[3] Ligorne in the original.

some Jew friends, who offered him 25,000 *piastres*[1] for it. But as he asked 30,000 he was unable to let them have it, and took it to VENICE to get it cut. It was well cut, without any injury, but upon being put upon the wheel it was immediately broken into nine pieces. I myself was on one occasion deceived by one of these stones, which weighed 2 carats; it broke into small pieces on the wheel when it was only half finished.

[1] Say £5625.

CHAPTER XVII

A continuation of the Author's Journeys to the Diamond Mines

I COME to the third mine, which is the most ancient of all, and is situated in the Kingdom of BENGAL. You may call it by the name of SOUMELPOUR,[1] which is a large town near to which the diamonds are found, or rather by the name KOEL, which is that of the river in the sand of which they are found. The country through which this river has its course belongs to a *Raja* who was formerly a tributary of the GREAT MOGUL, having withdrawn from his allegiance during the wars between SHÁH JAHÁN and JAHÁNGIR his father. Immediately on his coming to the throne

[1] Among a host of writers of this century, so far as I know, Karl Ritter (*Erdkunde Asien*) and Francis Buchanan (in Martin's *Eastern India*, vol. i, p. 535) alone suggested that this locality was not to be identified with another diamond locality, Sambalpur on the Mahánadi, in the Central Provinces. I have been able to show that it was situated in the District of Lohárdagá and subdivision of Palámau in Chutiá Nagpur, and that the *Gouel* river is identical with the Koel, which traverses that District. It joins the Sone not far from the fortress of Rohtás, and so its waters find their way northwards to the Ganges. It is probable that both Sambalpur and Soumelpour derive their names from the *Semul* tree (*Bombax*), and about the site which I assign to the latter there are the remains of an old town called Semah—Lat. 23° 35′ N., and Long. 84° 21′ E. As the available details regarding these long-forgotten mines are too long for a footnote, they will be found in an Appendix at the end of this volume.

SHÁH JAHÁN sent to demand tribute from this *Raja*, both for the present and the past; and the *Raja*, as his property was not sufficient to discharge the whole, quitted the country and fortified himself together with his subjects in the mountains. Upon the news of the refusal which the *Raja* first made, SHÁH JAHÁN, who did not know that he purposed to hide, but believed that he intended to defend himself, sent an army into his country, where he was persuaded that he would find an abundance of diamonds. It happened otherwise, however, for those who were sent into the country of the *Raja* found neither diamonds, inhabitants, nor food, the *Raja* having ordered all the grain which his subjects could not carry with them to be burnt, and this was so effectually done that the greater portion of SHÁH JAHÁN'S army perished of famine. The final result of the matter was, that the *Raja* returned to his country on agreeing to pay a light annual tribute to the GREAT MOGUL.

The following is the route to be followed from AGRA to this mine:—

From AGRA to HALABAS (ALLAHÁBÁD)	.	130 *coss*.
,, HALABAS to BANAROUS (BENARES)	.	33 ,,
,, BANAROUS to SASERON (SASSERAM)	.	4 ,,

From AGRA to SASSERAM[1] you travel eastwards,

[1] This route is also given in Book I, chap. viii, pp. 113 to 120, but the details are very different. In the first place Sasseram and the large town are here misplaced. The latter is probably the Gourmabad, *i.e.* the Khurmábád, of p. 120, but the distance, which there amounts to 27 *coss*, is here stated to be only 21 *coss*. The true distance is about 58 miles. After Khurmábád, not before it, Sasseram comes as the next stage, distant 4 *coss*, the true distance being 12 miles; but after it again the distance to Rohtás is understated at 4 *coss*, it being really about 24 miles. These discrepancies may be explained by the fact that Tavernier does not appear to have gone to Rohtás from Sasseram. If he visited

but between SASSERAM and the mine you turn to the south and come first to a large town—21 *coss*. This town belongs to the *Raja* of whom I have just spoken, to whom the country belongs which is traversed by the river in which the diamonds are found.

After this town one reaches a fortress called ROHTÁS[1] —4 *coss*. It is one of the strongest places in ASIA, situated upon a mountain having six great bastions and twenty-seven pieces of cannon, with three trenches full of water where there are good fish. There is but a single path by which to ascend the mountain, where there is a plain of half a league or so in area, where corn and rice are cultivated. There are more than twenty springs which irrigate the soil, and all about the mountain from the base to the top there are precipices covered for the most part with forests. The *Rajas* ordinarily held this fortress with from 700 to 800 men, but it at present belongs to the GREAT MOGUL, who acquired it by the skill of that great Captain MIR JUMLÁ of whom I have so often had occasion to speak. The last *Raja* left three sons who betrayed each other; the eldest was poisoned, the second attached himself to the court of the GREAT MOGUL, who gave him the command of 4000 horse, and the youngest maintains his position in the country by paying tribute like his father. All the Kings of INDIA, successors of TAMERLANE, have besieged this place without being able to

it and the diamond mine, as is probable, he almost certainly did so from Patna, in which neighbourhood he was for some time in 1640 and again in 1665-6. (See Index.)

[1] Rodas in the original—Rohtásgarh, Lat. 24° 27′ 30″, Long. 83° 55′ 50″. (See Sir W. W. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. xii, pp. 209-212.) There are also detailed descriptions and plans in Montgomery Martin's *Eastern Asia*, vol. i, p. 432.

take it, and indeed two of these Kings died in the city of SASSERAM.

From the Fortress of ROHTAS to SOUMELPOUR it is 30 *coss*.

SOUMELPOUR[1] is a large town with houses built of clay only, and thatched with the branches of the cocoa-nut tree.[2] These thirty *coss* traverse forests which are dangerous, because the thieves, who know that merchants do not visit the mine without carrying money, attack them sometimes for the purpose of murdering them.[3] The *Raja* lives at half a *coss* distance from the town, and his dwelling is in tents placed on an eminence. The KOEL passes the fort, and it is in this river that the diamonds are found. It comes from the high mountains to the south and loses its name in the GANGES.[4]

This is the manner in which diamonds are sought for in this river. After the great rains are over, that is to say usually in the month of December, the diamond seekers await the conclusion of the month of January, when the river becomes low, because at that time, in many parts, it is not more than two feet deep, and much of the sand is left uncovered. Towards the

[1] This name is left in its original form in the text, as its identification with Semah, although most probable, has not been absolutely proved.

[2] Although the cocoa-nut has been observed nearly as far inland as this locality, I do not think there are any in that part of the country now. It is possible that the leaves of the Tal palm (*Borassus flabelliformis*, Linn.) are meant.

[3] Descendants of the thieves belonging to the Dom tribe still roam about Palámau. Out of three occasions when my camp was robbed during seventeen years' travelling in India, two were in this district and the third not very far from its limits.

[4] It joins the Sone, which flows into the Ganges. It is possible that Pliny's mention of the Ganges as yielding precious stones may be connected with this fact.

end of January or commencement of February, from the town of SOUMELPOUR and also from another town which is 20 *coss* higher up the same river, and from some small villages on the plain, about 8000 persons of both sexes and of all ages capable of working assemble.

Those who are expert know that the sand contains diamonds beneath, when they find small stones in it which resemble those we call "thunder stones."[1] They commence to search in the river at the town of SOUMELPOUR and proceed up-stream to the mountains where it takes its rise, which are situated about 50 *coss* from the town.[2] In the places where they believe there are diamonds they excavate the sand in the following manner. They encircle these places with stakes, fascines, and clay, in order to remove the water and dry the spot, as is done when it is intended to build the pier of a bridge. They then take out the sand, but do not excavate below the depth

[1] It is to be noted in reference to these "*pierres de tonnerre*," which I take to be ferruginous concretions, that in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahángiri* as translated by Blochman (J. A. S. B., vol. xl, p. 114) there occurs the following passage: "When the river contains little water, tumuli and hollows are formed. The diamond diggers know from experience that those tumuli contain diamonds over which insects (?), called by the Hindus *jhinga*, hover." It seems just possible that the term "*jhinga*" (shrimps?) may in this instance have been applied technically to the particular kind of pebbles which Tavernier denominated as above, and that the late Mr. Blochman was unaware of the technical application of the term.

[2] The distance of the source of the river is here very much overstated, but by crossing the watershed, the Sank river is met with, and in it diamonds used to be found. (*Vide* map in Appendix III.) The sources of these rivers are close to one another, and there the diamond stratum should be looked for. Unfortunately I had not made this identification of Tavernier's site when traversing that part of the country, and there is, so far as I know, no local tradition of diamonds having been found in the Koel.

of two feet. All this sand is carried and spread upon a large place prepared on the banks of the river and surrounded by a low wall of a foot and a half high, or thereabouts. They make holes at the base, and when they have filled the enclosure with as much sand as they think proper, they throw water upon it, wash it and break it, and afterwards follow the same method as is adopted at the mine which I have above described.

It is from this river that all the beautiful *points* come which are called *points naives*[1] (natural points), but a large stone is rarely found there. It is now many years since these stones have been seen in EUROPE, in consequence of which many merchants have supposed that the mine has been lost, but it is not so; it is true, however, that a long time has elapsed since anything has been obtained in this river on account of the wars.[2]

I have spoken elsewhere of another mine of diamonds in the Province of Carnatic, which MIR JUMLÁ, General-in-Chief and Prime Minister of State of the King of GOLCONDA, commanded to be closed,[3] not wishing that it should be worked further, because the stones from it, or rather from these six mines (for

[1] *I.e.* diamonds having crystalline facets and angles. (See p. 73.)

[2] From this circumstantial account it would seem probable that Tavernier visited this locality himself during his stay at Patna in 1640 or in 1666. The statement on p. 53 that he had visited the four mines which he describes and one of the two river washings is puzzling, because, if Gandikot is to be classed as one of the mines, then he describes none of the river washings, as he calls Soumelpour the third "mine" on p. 81.

[3] See Book I, chap. xviii. This appears to be a different case from that mentioned on p. 78, where the green crust and friability of the diamonds caused the mines to be closed. It is probably the one which Mir Jumlá told Tavernier of at Gandikot. (See vol. i, p. 288.)

there are six of them, close to one another) were all black or yellow, and not one of good water.

There is, finally, in the Island of BORNEO,[1] the largest of all the islands in the world, a river called SUCCADAN, in the sand of which beautiful stones are found, which have the same hardness as those of the river KOEL, or of the other mines of which I have made mention.

General VANDIME once sent six of them, of 3 to 4 carats each, from BATAVIA to me at SURAT, and he believed that they were not so hard as those from other mines, in which he was mistaken, because there is no difference in that respect; it was in order to ascertain the fact that he sent them to me. When I was at BATAVIA one of the chief officers of the Company showed me a *point naive* of 25½ carats, a perfect stone, obtained in this river of SUCCADAN. But at the price which he told me it had cost him he had paid more than 50 per cent more than I should have been willing to buy

[1] In 1609 Captain John Saris found a considerable trade being carried on at Soekadana in the diamonds which he says were found in great abundance there and in the river Lave. He says they were obtained, as pearls are, by diving. I think it well to refer here to a footnote to Linschotens' *Travels* (*Hakluyt Society*, vol. ii, p. 134), where Mr. Tiele gives an explanation of a statement, first made, I believe, by Garcia de Orta, that diamonds were found at Taniapura in Malacca. Here Malacca, it seems, means Borneo, and Taniapura stands for Tandjongpura. There is hardly a work on precious stones which does not erroneously cite Malacca as a diamond locality. I have been informed by Mr. D. F. A. Hervey that Tanjongpura is situated about 30 miles up the river Páwan in the northern portion of the Mátan District, adjoining Soekadana, according to De Carubee's Netherlands India Maps. The question of the distribution and mode of occurrence of diamonds in Borneo, though now well understood, is too large to enter upon here. Probably the best account is by Dr. Theodor Posewitz. (Vide *Mith a. d. Jahrb. d Kgl. Ung. Geolog. Anst.*, Bd. vii, 1885; see Appendix.)

it for. It is true that I have always heard that these stones are very dear. The principal reason which has prevented me from going to this river of BORNEO is that the Queen of the Island does not allow foreigners to carry away the stones, and there are great difficulties in conveying them thence—the insignificant number which are carried away secretly are sold at BATAVIA. I shall be asked, without doubt, why I only mention the Queen of BORNEO, and not the King. The reason is that in this Kingdom it is the women who govern and not the men, because the people are so particular about having for their sovereign a legitimate heir to the throne that the husband not being certain that the children which he believes to have had by his wife are his very own, and the wife being, on the contrary, quite certain that the children are hers, they prefer to have a woman for their ruler, to whom they give the title of Queen, her husband being her subject, and not having more power than that which she chooses to confer upon him.[1]

[1] Descent by the mother's side obtains in some other Oriental countries, and is observed among the Nairs of Malabar.

CHAPTER XVIII

The different kinds of Weights for weighing Diamonds at the Mines; the kinds of Gold and Silver in circulation; the routes by which one is able to travel; and the rule in use for the estimation of the Prices of Diamonds.

I COME now to some details as to the traffic in diamonds, and in order that the reader may understand easily—believing that no one has previously written of this matter[1]—I shall speak in the first instance of the different kinds of weights which are in use, both at the mines and in other places in ASIA.

At the mine of RAMULKOTA they weigh by *mangelins*, and the *mangelin* is equal to $1\frac{3}{4}$ carats, that is to say, 7 grains.[2]

At the mine of (GANI[3] or) KOLLUR the same weights are used.

At the mine of SOUMELPOUR in BENGAL they weigh by *ratis*, and the *rati* is $\frac{7}{8}$ths of a carat, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains.[4]

[1] In this Tavernier was mistaken, several Portuguese writers having treated of this subject before his time.

[2] Seven modern diamond grains = 5.55 grains troy, the proportion being 3.17 troy grains to the carat of 4 diamond grains.

[3] See p. 72 for meaning of *Gani*.

[4] This (= 2.77 troy grains) was the pearl *rati*, much greater than the ordinary *rati*, which varied from 1.75 to 1.84 grains troy, or even more. (See on this point vol. i, Appendix, and Preface, vol. ii for correction.)

This last weight is used throughout the whole of the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL.

In the Kingdoms of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR *mangelins* are also used, but the *mangelin* in these places is only $1\frac{3}{8}$ carats.[1] The Portuguese use the same weight name in GOA, but it is then equal to only 5 grains.[2]

I come now to the kinds of money with which diamonds are purchased in INDIA.

Firstly, in the Kingdom of BENGAL, in the territories of the *Raja* of whom I have spoken, as they are included in the dominion of the GREAT MOGUL, payment is made in rupees.

At the two mines[3] which are in the Kingdom of BIJAPUR, in the neighbourhood of RAMULKOTA, payment is made in the new *pagodas* which the King coins in his own name, being entirely independent of the GREAT MOGUL. The new *pagoda* does not always bear the same value, for sometimes it is valued at $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees,[4] sometimes more and sometimes less, according as it is elevated or depressed by the state of trade, and according as the money-changers arrange matters with the Princes and Governors.

At the mine of KOLLUR (or GANI), which belongs to the King of GOLCONDA, payment is made in new *pagodas* of equal value with those of the King of BIJAPUR. But one has to buy them sometimes at from 1 to 4 per cent premium, because they are of better gold, and because the merchants do not accept others at this mine.

[1] *I.e.* 4.36 troy grains. These weights and their modern equivalents are discussed in vol. i, Appendix. Elsewhere Tavernier seems to imply that Ramulkota being in Bijapur, this *mangelin* was used there.

[2] *I.e.* 3.962 troy grains.

[3] The second mine here referred to was possibly the one mentioned as having been closed (see p. 78 *n.*)

[4] *I.e.* 7s. $10\frac{1}{2}$d.

These *pagodas* are made by the English and Dutch, who have obtained from the King, either by agreement or by force, permission to manufacture them, each in their own fortress. And those of the Dutch cost 1 or 2 per cent more than those of the English, because they are of better quality, and the miners also much prefer them. But as the majority of the merchants are influenced by the false reports that the people at the mine are unsophisticated and almost savages, and that, moreover, the routes from GOLCONDA to the mines are very dangerous, they generally remain at GOLCONDA, where those who work the mines have their correspondents to whom they send the diamonds. Payments are made there with old *pagodas*, well worn, and coined many centuries ago by different Princes, who reigned in INDIA before the Muhammadans gained a footing in the country. These old *pagodas* are worth 4½ rupees,[1] *i.e.* 1 rupee more than the new, although they do not contain more gold, and consequently do not weigh more; this will be a cause of astonishment if I do not explain the reason. It is that the *Shroffs* or Changers, in order to induce the King not to have them recoined, pay him annually a large sum, because they themselves thereby derive a considerable profit; for the merchants never receive these *pagodas* without the aid of one of these Changers to examine them, some being defaced, others of low standard, others of short weight, so that if one accepted them without this examination he would lose much, and would have the trouble to return them, or perhaps lose from 1 to even 5 or 6 per cent, in addition to which he must pay the *Shroffs* ¼th per cent for their trouble. When you pay

[1] *I.e.* 10s. 1½d.

the miners, they will also only receive these *pagodas* in presence of the Changer, who points out to them the good and bad, and again takes his ¼th per cent. But to save time, when you desire to make a payment of 1000 or 2000 *pagodas*, the Changer, when receiving his dues, encloses them in a little bag, on which he places his seal, and when you wish to pay a merchant for his diamonds you take him, with the bag, to the Changer, who, seeing his own seal intact, assures him that he has examined all the coins, and will be responsible if any do not prove good.

As for rupees, the miners take indifferently those of the GREAT MOGUL and those of the King of GOLCONDA, because those coined by this King would have been the coinage of the GREAT MOGUL if these monarchs had remained on good terms.

The natives of INDIA have more intelligence and subtlety than one thinks. As the *pagodas* are small, thick pieces of gold of the size of the nail of the little finger, and as it is impossible to clip them without it being apparent, they bore small holes in them all round, from whence they extract 3 or 4 *sols* value of gold dust, and they close them with such skill that there is no appearance of the coins having been touched. Moreover, if you buy anything in a village, or when you cross a river, if you give the boatmen a rupee, they immediately kindle a fire and throw the rupee into it, from whence if it comes out white they accept it, but if black they return it; for all the silver in INDIA is of the highest quality, and that which is brought from EUROPE has to be taken to the mint to be recoined. I say also that those are very much deceived (as a merchant tried to make me believe in

my first journey) who imagine that it answers to take to the mines spices, tobacco, mirrors, and other trifles of that kind to barter for diamonds; for I have fully proved the contrary, and am able to assert that the merchants at the mine who sell the diamonds require good gold, and the best too.

Now let us say something as to the routes to be followed to the mines. Some modern rather fabulous accounts represent them to be, as I have said, dangerous and difficult, and frequented by tigers, lions,[1] and barbarous people; but I have found them altogether different from what they were represented to be—without wild beasts, and the people full of good will and courtesy to strangers.

As for GOLCONDA, one need know but little of the map to be cognisant of its position; but from GOLCONDA to RAMULKOTA, where the principal mine is, the route is less known, and this is the one which I followed. The measure of distance in this country is the *gos*, and a *gos* is equal to 4 French leagues.[2]

From GOLCONDA to CANAPOUR[3]	. . . .	1
,, CANAPOUR to PARQUEL (BOORGUL)	. .	2½
,, PARQUEL to CAKENOL (KOADGUL[4])	. .	1
,, CAKENOL to CANOL-CANDANOR (KUNDANOOL)		3
,, CANOL-CANDANOR to SETAPOUR[5]	. .	1
,, SETAPOUR to the river (*i.e.* KISTNÁ)	. .	2

[1] Lions are not likely to have occurred so far south in India in Tavernier's time.

[2] *I.e.* to say about 8 miles. (See vol. i, Appendix, p. 420.)

[3] *Canapour* has not been identified; it was probably near Narkodá of the Atlas Sheet. The identifications of some of the localities on this route published in *Jour. As. Soc.*, 1881, vol. i, part ii, p. 219, as my informant included places off the true route, prove to be incorrect.

[4] Koadgul is 10 miles from Boorgul and 24 from Kundanool.

[5] *Setapour* does not appear on the Atlas Sheet.

This river is the boundary between the Kingdoms of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR.

From River to ALPOUR (ALUMPUR) . . . ¾
,, ALPOUR to CANOL (KARNUL) . . . ¾
,, CANOL to RAOLCONDA (RAMULKOTA) where the mine is 2½

Thus in all it is 17 *gos*, or 68 French leagues from GOLCONDA to the mine.[1]

From GOLCONDA to the mine of COLOUR, or GANI,[2] it is 13¾ *gos*, which amounts to 55 of our leagues.

From GOLCONDA to ALMASPINDE (ALMASGOODA ?) . 3½
,, ALMASPINDE to KAPER (?) 2
,, KAPER to MONTECOUR (MOONOOGODOO) . 2½
,, MONTECOUR to NAZELPAR (NAGOOLPAD) . 2
,, NAZELPAR to ELIGADA (LINGALLA ?) . . 1½
,, ELIGADA to SARVARON (SURRAWARAM) . 1
,, SARVARON to MELLASEROU (MAILACHEROO) 1
,, MELLASEROU to PONOCOUR (?)[3] . . . 1¾

Between PONOCOUR and COULOUR or GANI (KOLLUR) there is only the river[4] to cross.

[1] This route crossed two rivers, namely the main stream of the Kistná and its tributary the Tungabhadra, Alumpur being situated in the fork between, and Karnul being on the south bank of the Tungabhadra. The total of these distances, as printed, is 14½ *gos*, which at 4 leagues to the *gos* would be equal to 58 leagues. The true distance by this route would be about 135 miles, which is equal to the 17 *gos*, or 68 leagues. Hence some of the stages must be understated.

[2] See p. 72, where it is shown that Gani (Kán-i) is only a Persian prefix signifying "mine of," and that *Coulour* is identified with Kollur on the Kistná.

[3] The total of these distances is 15¼ (not 13¾) *gos*, which, as above, would be equal to 61 leagues. The distance of the first stage is evidently wrong, being in reality only about 10 miles. The distance by the route given in Book I, chap. xi, is 76 *coss*.

[4] The river here mentioned is the Kistná, and *Ponocour* must have been in the position of Vellutar. Vellatoor, lower down the Kistna, is quite distinct.

I come now to an important subject which is little understood in EUROPE.

Rule for ascertaining the proper price of a Diamond of whatsoever weight it may be, from 3 *up to and above* 100 *carats.*

I do not mention diamonds below 3 carats, their price being sufficiently well known.

It is first necessary to know what the diamond weighs, and next to see if it is perfect, whether it is a thick stone, square-shaped, and having all its angles perfect; whether it is of a beautiful white water, and lively, without points, and without flaws. If it is a stone cut into facettes, which is ordinarily called "a rose," it is necessary to observe whether the form is truly round or oval; whether the stone is well-spread, and whether it is not one of those lumpy stones; and, moreover, whether it is of uniform water, and is without points and flaws, as I described the thick stone.

A stone of this quality, weighing 1 carat, is worth 150 *livres*[1] or more, and supposing it is required to know the value of a stone of 12 carats of the same degree of perfection, this is how it is to be ascertained:—

Square the 12, this amounts to 144; next multiply

[1] Say £11 : 5s., at 1s. 6d. to the *livre*. Thevenot gives 15 to 16 *écus* as the price of stones of 1 or 2 *mangelins*, but those of 3 *mangelins* were worth at the rate of 30 *écus* the *mangelin*. (*Voyage des Indes*, Paris Ed., 1684, p. 289.) As Thevenot gives the value of a *mangelin* at 1.6 carats, 3 would be equal to 4.8 carats, and the price 90 *écus*, or £20 : 5s., while Tavernier's valuation for a stone of 4.8 carats would be $4.8 \times 4.8 \times 150 = 3456$ *livres* = £259 : 4s. This enormous discrepancy must be due to a mistake by Thevenot.

144 by 150, *i.e.* the price of 1 carat, and it amounts to 21,600 *livres*—

$$12 \times 12 \times 150 = 21{,}600.$$[1]

This is the price of a diamond of 12 carats.

But it is not enough to know the price of perfect diamonds only, one must know also the price of those which are not so; this is ascertained by the same rule, and on the basis of the price of a stone of 1 carat. This is an example—

Suppose a diamond of 15 carats which is not perfect, the water being not good, or the stone badly shaped, or full of spots or flaws. A diamond of the same nature, of the weight of 1 carat, would not be worth more than 60 or 80 or 100 *livres* at the most, according to the beauty of the diamond. You must then square the weight of the diamond, *i.e.* 15 carats, and next multiply the product 125 by the value of the stone of 1 carat, which may for example be 80 *livres*, and the product, which is 10,000[2] *livres*, is the price of the diamond of 15 carats.

It is easy to see from this the great difference in

[1] *I.e.* £1620. Whatever may have been the case, it is now apparent that no hard and fast rule can be given to determine the selling value of diamonds, as it is subject to very great variations.

Among other formulæ, however, the following may be mentioned:—

$\frac{m}{2}(m+2)\,a$ where m = the number of carats, and a the value of 1.

This is given in *Handbuch der Edelstein*, A. Schrauf, Vienna. A stone of 12 carats, similar in quality to that above given, so calculated, would be worth £945.

[2] £750. But this calculation, though represented graphically as a sum in figures, in the original, is wholly incorrect, as $15 \times 15 = 225$, not 125, and the product of its multiplication by 80 is 18,000 instead of 10,000 *livres*, the value of the diamond consequently would be £1350. In the edition of Tavernier of 1679, I find that this sum is correctly calculated as above.

value between a perfect stone and one which is not so. For if this stone of 15 carats had been perfect, the second multiplication would be by 150, which is the price of a perfect stone of 1 carat, and then it would amount not to 10,000 *livres*, but to 33,750 *livres*, *i.e.* to 23,750[1] *livres* more than an imperfect diamond of the same weight.

According to this rule, the following is the value of the two largest among the cut stones in the world—one of them in ASIA belonging to the GREAT MOGUL, the other in EUROPE belonging to the Grand Duke of TUSCANY—as will be seen by the subjoined figures.

The GREAT MOGUL'S diamond weighs $279\frac{9}{16}$ carats, is of perfect water, good form, and has only a small flaw which is in the edge of the basal circumference of the stone.

Except for this flaw the first carat would be placed at 160 *livres*, but on that account I do not estimate it at more than 150, and so calculated according to the above given rule it reaches the sum of 11,723,278 *livres*, 14 *sols*, and 3 *liards*. If this diamond only weighed 279 carats, it would have been worth 11,676,150 *livres* only, and thus these $\frac{9}{16}$ths are worth 47,128 *livres*, 14 *sols*, 3 *liards*.[2]

The Grand Duke of TUSCANY'S diamond weighs $139\frac{1}{2}$ carats, is clear, and of good form, cut on all sides into facettes, and as the water tends somewhat to a citron colour,[3] I estimate the first carat at only 135

[1] *I.e.* £2531 : 5s., and £1781 : 5s. The former is correctly calculated, but the latter should be 33,750 – 18,000 *livres* = 15,750 *livres* = £1181 : 5s.

[2] These amounts are equivalent to £879,245 : 18 : $1\frac{1}{2}$, £875,711 : 5s., and £3534 : 13 : $1\frac{1}{2}$—the *livre* being 1s. 6d., and the *sol* 9d.

[3] This description and that in chap. xxii, as also the figure of

livres, from which the value of the diamond ought to be 2,608,335—that is to say, two million six hundred and eight thousand three hundred and thirty-five *livres*.[1]

In concluding the remarks which I have made in this chapter, I should say that in the language of the miners the diamond is called *iri*;[2] that in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic it is called *almas*,[3] and that in all the languages of EUROPE it has no other name than diamond.

This, then, in a few words is all that I have been able to discover with my own eyes in regard to this subject during the several journeys which I made to the mines; and if by chance some other has written or spoken of them before me, it can only have been from the reports which I have made of them.[4]

the stone, correspond in all important respects with the "Austrian yellow," now in the possession of the Emperor of Austria. Its weight is 133¼ Vienna carats according to Schrauf, which would amount to 134 French carats, the proportion in milligrams being 206.13 : 205.5, and not to 139½ as stated in the work quoted below. The value of the stone has been variously estimated at £40,000, £50,000, and even £155,682. (See *The Great Diamonds of the World*, by E. Streeter, London, 1882, and *Murray on the Diamond*, Second Edition, London, 1839.) The figure which the latter gives of the Matan diamond is really of Tavernier's "Grand Duke," not so the figure purporting to be of itself.

[1] The equivalent of 2,608,335 *livres* is £195,625 : 2 : 6.

[2] Linschoten has *iraa*, both are from the Sanskrit *hira*, the term now used in Hindustani, and some other languages in India.

[3] *Almás* is believed to be closely related with the *adamas* of the Greeks and Romans—the latter term, however, does not appear to have been originally applied to the diamond but to corundum.

[4] It has already been shown that Methold had actually visited the mines before Tavernier. (See p. 72, *n.*) And it is probable that Cæsar Frederick had been at Ramulkota, which he describes, about the year 1570. (See Hakluyt's *Voyages*.)

CHAPTER XIX

Concerning Coloured Stones and the places where they are obtained.

THERE are only two places in the East where coloured stones are obtained, namely in the Kingdom of PEGU and in the island of CEYLON. The first is a mountain twelve days or thereabouts from SIREN[1] in a north-east direction, and it is called CAPELAN.[2] It is the mine from whence is obtained the greatest quantity of rubies, spinelles or mothers of rubies, yellow topazes, blue and white sapphires, hyacinths, amethysts, and other stones of different colours. Among these hard stones others which are soft are found, and are called *bacan*[3] in the language of the country. These are not considered to be valuable.

SIREN is the name of the city where the King of PEGU resides, and AVA is the port of the Kingdom. From AVA to SIREN you ascend the river in large flat

[1] *Siren* here is a mistake for Ava. Siriam or Syriam is a port on the Pegu river 6 miles E. of Rangoon. It was famous in connection with Portuguese dealings with Pegu, and was the site of an English factory in the seventeenth century. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary.*) In the second reference below it would seem that the names *Siren* and *Ava* are transposed, as Ava was the capital and Syriam the port.

[2] *I.e.* Kyatpyen. Its distance from Ava is about 70 miles. (See Map in vol. i, and Appendix on Burmah ruby mines.)

[3] *Bacan.* This is possibly the Persian *pákand* or *bákand*, which signifies ruby.

boats, and it is a voyage lasting about sixty days. You cannot travel by land on account of the forests, which abound with lions,[1] tigers, and elephants. It is one of the poorest countries in the world; nothing comes from it but rubies, and even they are not so abundant as is generally believed, seeing that the value does not amount to 100,000 *écus*[2] per annum.

Among all these stones you would find it difficult to meet with one of good quality, weighing 3 or 4 carats, because of the strict injunctions against allowing the removal of any which the King has not seen; and he retains all the good ones which he finds among them. This is the reason why in all my journeys I have earned a sufficiently large profit by bringing rubies from EUROPE into ASIA; and I very much doubt the story of VINCENT LE BLANC when he says that he has seen rubies in the King's palace as large as eggs.[3]

The following is the price of some rubies which might pass as of good quality. During my several journeys I saw them sold by merchants who came from the mine, while I was at MASULIPATAM and GOLCONDA. All rubies are sold by the weight called *rati*,

[1] Lions here, as elsewhere, must be understood as a figure of speech, since there are none in Burmah.

[2] £22,500. In the year 1855 the revenue from the mines was estimated at from £12,500 to £15,000. Since the conquest of Upper Burmah these mines have, as is well known, been let for a term of years to an English Company. Further information will be found in an Appendix to this volume.

[3] I cannot find this statement in the copy of Le Blanc's *Voyages* which I possess, namely, the Paris Edition of 1648. Sir T. Roe speaks of a ruby weighing 13 *tolas*, or about 5¼ oz., which was offered to Jahángir for 5 *lakhs* of rupees by the Portuguese, but he offered only one *lakh* for it. (See *Journal*, Calcutta Edition, p. 32.)

which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains or $\frac{7}{8}$th of a carat;[1] and payment is made in the old *pagodas*, of which I have spoken in the preceding chapter:—

A ruby of	1	*rati*	was sold for	20	*pagodas.*
,,	$2\frac{1}{8}$	*ratis*	,,	85	,,
,,	$3\frac{1}{4}$	,,	,,	185	,,
,,	$4\frac{5}{8}$	,,	,,	450	,,
,,	5	,,	,,	525	,,
,,	$6\frac{1}{2}$	,,	,,	920[2]	,,

When a ruby exceeds 6 *ratis*, and is perfect, it is sold for whatever is asked for it.

All the other coloured stones in this country are called by the name ruby, and are only distinguished by colour.[3] Thus in the language of PEGU the sapphire is a blue ruby, the amethyst a violet ruby, the topaz a yellow ruby, and so with the other stones.

The dealers are so particular about their profit in trade that they will not show you a parcel of rubies, although they may be fine, unless you promise beforehand that in case you do not buy you will make them a small present—as a turban or a waistband; and when one acts somewhat liberally to them they show all their stock, and one can then transact some business with them.

The other place in the East whence rubies and other coloured stones are obtained is a river in the

[1] Namely the pearl *rati* = 2.77 grs. troy (see Appendix to vol. i, and Preface, vol. ii.)

[2] In other words, a ruby of 18 grains troy was sold for about £465 : 15s.—the *rati* being equal to 2.77 grains troy, and the *pagoda* to 10s. $1\frac{1}{2}$d. (See vol. i, Appendix.) According to Mr. Streeter (*Precious Stones*) rubies over a carat in weight vary in value from £20 to £100 per carat at present, but he adds that no definite price can be given to aid the purchaser.

[3] A very legitimate system of nomenclature, as they are all of the same chemical composition, viz. alumina or corundum.

island of Ceylon.[1] It comes from high mountains which are in the middle of the island, and as the rains greatly increase its size—three or four months after they have fallen, and when the water is lowered, the poor people go to search amongst the sand, where they find rubies, sapphires, and topazes. The stones from this river are generally more beautiful and cleaner than those of PEGU.

I forgot to remark that in the mountains which run from PEGU towards the Kingdom of CAMBOYA[2] some rubies are found in certain places, but more *balass* rubies[3] than others, many spinelles, sapphires, and topazes. There are gold mines in these mountains, and rhubarb[4] also comes from these places, which is

[1] In Ceylon sapphire is the variety of corundum most commonly found, but rubies are also sometimes met with. The annual average value of precious stones found in Ceylon is said to be about £10,000 at present. "Stones of inferior kinds are found in the beds of streams about Kandy, Nuwara-Eliya, Badulla, and some of the small rivers in the south; but the more precious stones, such as the ruby, sapphire, topaz, alexandrite, and catseye, must be sought within a radius of 30 or 40 miles from Ratnapura (the City of Gems), the capital of Saffragam, a district of the Western Province, though occasionally rubies are found in Uva." (See *Ceylon Colonial Guide.*)

[2] The mode of occurrence of rubies in Cambodia and Siam is not very well understood, but I have met with some references to the fact, which appears to be undoubted. Thus Crawfurd says they are found in hills at Chan-ta-bun in Lat. 12° on the east side of the Gulf. They constitute a rigidly-guarded royal monopoly, but are much inferior in quality to the Ava stones. (*Embassy*, 4to., London, 1828, p. 419.)

[3] The distinction made by our author between "balass" rubies, and spinelles indicates that already in his time the name had been transferred from its true original application to spinelles—to rubies of a particular shade of colour, probably light, and resembling the spinelle. (See vol. i, p. 382 *n.*)

[4] This was probably China rhubarb, which thus found an outlet to Europe. Afterwards it mainly came through Russia. A very interesting account of the rhubarb trade from the earliest times, though Cambodia is not mentioned there, will be found in Fluckiger and Hanbury's *Pharmacographia*, Art. "Rhubarb."

highly esteemed, because it does not spoil so quickly as that which grows in other parts of ASIA.

There are also in Europe two places from whence coloured stones are obtained, viz. in BOHEMIA and HUNGARY. In BOHEMIA there is a mine where flints of different sizes are found, some being as large as an egg, others the size of the fist, and on breaking them one finds in some of them rubies[1] as hard and as beautiful as those of PEGU. I remember being one day at PRAGUE with the Viceroy of HUNGARY, in whose service I then was, as he washed his hands with General WALLENSTEIN, Duke of FRIEDLAND, before sitting at table, he saw on the General's hand a ruby which he admired for its beauty. But he admired it much more when WALLENSTEIN told him that the mine of these stones was in BOHEMIA; and, in fact, at the Viceroy's departure he presented him with about 100 of these flints in a basket. When we returned to HUNGARY the Viceroy had them all broken, and out of the whole of the flints there were only two in which rubies were found, one weighing about 5 carats and the other about 1 carat.

As for HUNGARY, it has a mine from whence opals[2] are obtained; they are not found in any other place in the world.

Turquoise is only found in PERSIA, and is obtained in two mines. The one which is called "the old rock" is three days' journey from MESHED towards the north-west and near to a large town called NICHA-

[1] These rubies, so called, were doubtless only garnets.

[2] There are early references to the occurrence of opal in India, but I have never been able to identify any local source there. Hungary still retains pre-eminence in this respect, but very beautiful opals are now found in Australia.

BOURG;[1] the other, which is called 'the new,' is five days' journey from it. Those of the new are of an inferior blue, tending to white, and are little esteemed, and one may purchase as many of them as he likes at small cost. But for many years the King of PERSIA has prohibited mining in the "old rock" for any one but himself, because having no gold workers in the country besides those who work in thread, who are ignorant of the art of enamelling on gold, and without knowledge of design and engraving, he uses for the decoration of swords, daggers, and other work, these turquoises of the old rock instead of enamel, which are cut and arranged in *patterns* like flowers and other figures which the (jewellers) make. This catches the eye and passes as a laborious work, but it is wanting in design.

As for the emerald, it is an ancient error of many people to suppose that it was originally found in the East[2] [*because before the discovery of America they*

[1] Nishapur in Meshed is the classic locality for the true Turquoise. Its mode of occurrence there will be found described in a paper by Mr. A. H. Schindler published in the *Records of the Geol. Survey of India*, vol. xvii, 1884, p. 132. Vambéry in his "Life," p. 290, also describes these mines. Turquoise has been found in some other places, as for instance in the Province of Ferghana at Mount Karumagar, 24 miles N.E. of Khojend. It occurs there in veins in a decomposed felspar porphyry. (*Russian Central-Asia*, by Henry Lansdell, D.D., p. 515.)

[2] Tavernier appears to have been wholly unaware of the true source of the emerald in early times. Although common beryl is abundant in India the emerald does not appear to have been found there, though highly esteemed and well known at a very remote epoch. All records, and indeed many might be quoted since the times of the Ptolemies, point to certain mines in Egypt, especially at Mount Zabara on the Red Sea, as having afforded the supply. Prof. Maskelyn, *Edb. Rev.* 1866, p. 244, records that when this locality was visited by Sir G. Wilkinson he found several emeralds of pale and poor quality. The matrix was mica schist. Among other authors who have mentioned Egypt as supplying emeralds to India, the following are the principal:—Pliny, the Monk Cosmas, *circa* A.D. 545, Masúdi, and the Muhammadan travellers

were unable to think otherwise], and likewise still the majority of jewellers and artisans, when they see an emerald of high colour inclining to black, are accustomed to call it an Oriental emerald, in which they are mistaken [*since the East has never produced them*].[1] I confess I have not been able to find the places in our Continent from whence these kinds of stones are obtained. But I am assured that the East has never produced them, neither on the mainland nor on the islands; and having made a strict inquiry during all my journeys, no one has been able to indicate any place in ASIA where they are found. It is true that since the discovery of AMERICA some few rough stones have often been carried by the Southern Sea from PERU to the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, from whence they have been exported in due course to EUROPE; but that does not justify these being called "Oriental," nor support the view that their source is situated in the East, since both before this discovery and this passage there was no want of emeralds for disposal throughout the whole of EUROPE, and because at present, having left this route, they are all conveyed by the North Sea (Atlantic) to SPAIN.[2] In the year 1660 I saw 20

of the ninth century. The emeralds of Siberia do not appear to have been discovered before the present century.

[1] The above passages in italics do not occur in the 1676 Edition of Tavernier, but are in that of 1713.

[2] The foregoing passage is thus rendered in the Edition of 1713:— "*I believe that long before that part of the world which is called the West Indies had been discovered, emeralds were carried from Asia into Europe; but they came from mines in the Kingdom of Peru. For the Americans, before we had knowledge of them, trafficked in the Philippine Islands, where they carried gold and silver; but more silver than gold, as there was more profit on the one than the other, on account of the abundance of gold mines in the East. To-day this trade still continues, and the people of Peru go annually to the Philippines with two or three*

per cent less price given in INDIA for emeralds than they would be sold for in FRANCE.

But concerning this navigation and commerce between AMERICA and the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, it should be remarked that the AMERICANS having arrived at these islands,[1] the people of BENGAL ARAKAN, PEGU, GOA, and other places, carry thither all sorts of cloths, and a quantity of worked stones, as diamonds and rubies, with many manufactured articles of gold and silver, silken stuffs and Persian carpets. But it should be added that they are unable to sell anything directly to these Americans, but only to those who reside in the MANILLAS, and that they resell them again when the former have left. Similarly, if any one obtained permission to return from GOA to SPAIN by the Southern Sea he would be obliged to pay 80 or 100 per cent for transmitting money as far as the PHILIPPINES, without being allowed to buy anything, and to do the same from the PHILIPPINES as far as NEW SPAIN.

[*This it is then which was done with the emeralds before the West Indies were discovered, for they only came to Europe by this long way and tedious journey. All that were not fine remained in this country, and all those that were passed on into Europe.*][2]

vessels, whither they only carry silver and a small quantity of rough emeralds, and indeed for some years they have ceased to carry the emeralds, sending them all to Europe by the Northern Sea."

[1] This early traffic between Peru and the Philippine Islands, by which our author strives to explain the source of the emeralds, is somewhat mythical I should suppose. It is curious to note that the agreement between the Spaniards and the Portuguese, that the former should extend their conquests only to the west and the latter to the east of Europe, was disturbed when vessels first crossed the Pacific from South America to Manilla. The Spaniards probably first carried Peruvian emeralds to the Eastern nations. [2] Interpolated in Edition of 1713.

CHAPTER XX

Concerning Pearls and the places where they are fished for.

PEARLS are found in the eastern and western seas, and both for the satisfaction of the reader and for the purpose of not omitting anything upon this matter, although I have not been in AMERICA, I shall mention nevertheless all the places where there are pearl-fisheries, commencing with those in the East.

In the first place, there is a pearl-fishery round the island of BAHREN,[1] in the Persian Gulf. It belongs to the King of PERSIA, and there is a good fortress there, where a garrison of 300 men is kept. The water which is drunk in this island and that used on the coast of PERSIA is salt, and has an unpleasant taste, and it is only the people of the country who can drink it. As for strangers, it costs them not a little to obtain good[2] water, for they have to get it out at sea from half a league distance from the island up to nearly two leagues. Those who go in boats for it should number five or six, one or two of whom dive to the bottom of the sea, having suspended from their waistbands a bottle or two, which they fill with water and then cork them well. For at the bottom of the

[1] Bahren Island, the well-known centre of the pearl-fishery in the Persian Gulf.

[2] See vol. i, p. 268.

sea there, for about two or three feet in depth, the water is fresh, and the best that can be drunk. When those who have dived to the bottom of the sea to get this water, pull a small cord which is attached to one of those who remain in the boat, it is the signal to their comrades to haul them up.

While the Portuguese held HORMUZ and MUSCAT, each *terate*[1] or boat which went to fish was obliged to take out a licence from them, which cost 15 *abassis*,[2] and many brigantines were maintained there, to sink those who were unwilling to take out licences. But since the Arabs have retaken MUSCAT, and the Portuguese are no longer supreme in the Gulf, every man who fishes pays to the King of PERSIA only 5 *abassis*,[3] whether his fishing is successful or not. The merchant also pays the King something small for every 1000 oysters.

The second pearl-fishery is opposite BAHREN, on the coast of ARABIA-FELIX, close to the town of EL KATIF,[4] which, with all the neighbouring country, belongs to an Arab Prince.

The pearls fished in these places are for the most part sold in INDIA, because the Indians are not so particular as we are. All pass easily, the *baroques*[5] as

[1] Spelt *terrade* in *Persian Travels*, p. 232, Paris Edition, 1676. Various forms of the word, which means a galley or a small ship of war, occur in Portuguese, Spanish, and Arabic. Colonel Yule informs me that its etymology is uncertain.

[2] Or, allowing 1s. 6d. for the *abassi*, £1 : 2 : 6.

[3] 3s. 9d.

[4] This is *Catifa* in the original. El Katif, on the Persian Gulf, is a considerable Arabian town, with a district of some extent.

[5] The term *baroques*, which is sometimes written *barocche*, is from the French *baroque*, signifying irregular or uncouth: it is applied to irregularly-shaped pearls. They are much used for grotesque figures.

well as the round; each has its price, all being saleable. Some of them are taken also to BASSORA. Those which go to PERSIA and RUSSIA are sold at BANDAR-CONGO,[1] two days' distance from HORMUZ. In all the places which I have named, and in other parts of ASIA, the water tending slightly to yellow is preferred to the white,[2] because it is said that pearls the water of which is slightly golden retain their vivacity and never change, but that when they are white they do not last for thirty years without losing their vivacity, and, both on account of the heat of the country and the perspiration of the body, they assume a vile yellow colour.

Before leaving the Gulf of HORMUZ I shall speak a little more fully than I have done in my account of PERSIA[3] of that splendid pearl which is possessed by the Arab Prince who took MUSCAT from the Portuguese. He then assumed the name of IMENHECT, Prince of MUSCAT, having been previously called ASAF BIN ALI,[4] Prince of NORENUÆ. This is but a petty Province, but the best in ARABIA-FELIX. All that is

Castellani says they are specially esteemed in Spain and Poland. (*History of Gems*, p. 172.)

[1] Kongoon, on the Persian Gulf, south-west of Shiraz. Bandar-Congo is mentioned as a port for Lar in the *Persian Travels*, pp. 232-234.

[2] A statement at the end of chap. xx contradicts this.

[3] The account in the *Persian Travels* is that the pearl belonged to the Emir of Vodana, who showed it to M. Constant and our author at Hormuz; it was perfectly round and transparent, and weighed 17 *abás*, or $14\frac{7}{8}$ carats, the *abás* being equal to $\frac{7}{8}$ of a carat. On behalf of the Governor of Surat, the latter, on a subsequent occasion, offered 60,000 rupees, say £6750, to the owner for it, but he refused to sell it. (*Persian Travels*, Book II, chap. ix.)

[4] Aseph Ben Ali in the original. I have not identified *Norenuæ*, nor can I say whether it is to be regarded as a synonym of *Vodana* in the previous note. *Imenhect* is possibly compounded of Imam or Ibn and some other word.

necessary for the life of man grows there, and more especially splendid fruits, and in particular excellent grapes, from which very good wine can be made. This is the Prince who possesses the most beautiful pearl in the world, not by reason of its size, for it only weighs $12\frac{1}{16}$ carats, nor on account of its perfect roundness; but because it is so clear and so transparent that you can almost see the light through it. As the Gulf opposite HORMUZ is scarcely 12 leagues wide from ARABIA-FELIX to the coast of PERSIA, and the Arabs were at peace with the Persians, the Prince of MUSCAT came to visit the *Khán* of HORMUZ, who entertained him with magnificence, and invited the English, Dutch, and some other *Franks*, in which number I was included, to the festival. At the close of the feast the Prince took this pearl out of a small purse which he carried suspended from his neck and showed it to the *Khán* and the rest of the company. The *Khán* wished to buy it, to present to the King of PERSIA, and offered up to 2000 *tomans*,[1] but the Prince was unwilling to part with it. Since then I crossed the sea with a *Banian* merchant whom the GREAT MOGUL was sending to this Prince to offer him 40,000 *écus*[2] for his pearl; but he refused to accept that sum.

This account makes it apparent, with reference to jewels, that fine jewels ought not always to be taken to EUROPE,[3] but rather from EUROPE to ASIA, as I have

[1] About £6900.

[2] *I.e.* £9000. Its value is stated to have been £32,000. (See Streeter, *Precious Stones and Gems*, Third Edition, part iii, p. 14.)

[3] I remember a case in India some few years ago illustrative of this, which gave rise to a trial. One or two persons residing at Simla bought some stones as a speculation and sent them to England, where

done, because both precious stones and pearls are esteemed there very highly when they have unusual beauty; but CHINA and JAPAN must be excepted, where they are not valued.[1]

The other locality in the East where there is a pearl-fishery is in the sea near a large town called MANAR, in the island of CEYLON.[2] The pearls found there are the most beautiful, both as regards water and roundness, of all the fisheries; but one is rarely found there which exceeds 3 or 4 carats in weight.

There are, moreover, on the coast of JAPAN pearls of very beautiful water and good size, but they are very imperfect; nevertheless they are not fished for, because, as I have said, the Japanese do not esteem jewels.

Although the pearls which are found at BAHREN and at EL KATIF tend somewhat to yellow, they are esteemed as highly as those of MANAR, as I have

they were valued at a lower price than had been given for them. The purchasers thereupon sought by an action to recover their money from the native jewel merchant, but lost their suit.

[1] The Chinese prefer to invest their money in porcelain, lacquer, and other works of art, and ridicule the craze for precious stones.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. S. Haughton of the Ceylon Civil Service for a copy of *The Overland Ceylon Observer* for 11th April 1888, which contains details of the results of the Ceylon pearl-fisheries from the year 1796 to 1888. In the first period, namely from 1796 to 1837, the total receipts amounted to £946,803 : 8 : $3\frac{3}{4}$, and the expenditure to £51,752 : 6 : $8\frac{1}{2}$. An estimate by Captain Stewart, however, makes the total net revenue for the same period only £524,521 : 14 : $2\frac{3}{4}$. In the second period, from 1838 to 1888, the total revenue was £437,110 : 4s., and the expenditure £105,656 : 1 : $9\frac{1}{2}$, or a net average annual profit, inclusive of many years when there was no fishing, of upwards of £6600. The average number of oysters annually fished for the same period amounted to about 3,575,630. In the year 1880, according to the *Colonial Exhibition Handbook of Ceylon*, 25,000,000 oysters sold for only £20,000, whereas in 1881 18,000,000 sold for £59,000.

remarked, and throughout the East it is said that they are mature or ripe, and that they never change colour.

I come now to the fisheries of the West, which are all situated on the great Gulf of MEXICO, along the coast of NEW SPAIN, and there are five of them which succeed one another from east to west.

The first is near the island of CUBAGUA,[1] which is only 3 leagues in circuit, and is distant about 5 from the mainland. It is in 10° 30′ of N. Lat., and 160 leagues from S. DOMINIQUE[2] in the ISLE OF SPAIN. It is a very infertile land, wanting in all things, and especially water, which the inhabitants are obliged to obtain from the mainland. This island is renowned throughout the west, because it is where the most considerable pearl-fishery is situated, although the largest pearls do not exceed 5 carats. The second fishery is in the island of MARGUERITE, that is to say, the island of pearls, at 1 league from CUBAGUA, which it surpasses much in size. It produces all that is necessary to life except that, like CUBAGUA, it lacks water, which has to be sent for to the river CUMANA, near NEW CADIZ.[3] This fishery is not the most abundant of all the five in AMERICA; but it is considered the principal, because the pearls which are found there surpass the others in perfection, both as regards water and size. One of the latter which I possessed, of well-formed pear shape, and of fine water, weighed 55 carats, and

[1] Cubagua is one of the Antilles group. It lies between the isle of Marguerite and the coast of Cumana, and belongs to Venezuela. It was formerly a centre of the pearl-fisheries.

[2] San Dominique, also one of the Antilles.

[3] The positions of Marguerite and Cumana are indicated in the previous note.

I sold it to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN, uncle of the GREAT MOGUL.[1]

Many are astonished to learn that pearls are taken from EUROPE to the East, from whence they come in abundance, but it should be remarked that in the Oriental fisheries they are not found of as great weights as in those of the West, added to which all the kings and great nobles of ASIA pay much better than do people in EUROPE, not only for pearls, but for all kinds of jewels—when they are out of the common run—excepting only the diamond.

The third fishery is at COMOGOTE,[2] near the mainland.

The fourth is at RIO DE LA HACHA,[3] along the same coast.

The fifth, and last, is at SAINTE MARTHE, 60 leagues from RIO DE LA HACHA.

All these three fisheries produce pearls of good weight; but generally they are ill-formed and are of a leaden-coloured water.

Finally, as for the pearls of SCOTLAND, and those which are found in the rivers of BAVARIA,[4] although necklaces are made of them which are worth up to 1000 *écus*[5] and beyond, they cannot enter into comparison with those of the East and West Indies.

It is possible that of those who have written before me concerning pearls none have recorded that some

[1] See Book I, chap. viii, for details of the sale, and the quarrel it gave rise to. See also p. 130.

[2] *Comogote* not identified.

[3] Rio de la Hacha is in Columbia, being the name of a Province and its chief town.

[4] Obtained from the *Unios* and *Anodons*, fresh-water mussels.

[5] £225.

years back a fishery was discovered in a certain part of the coasts of JAPAN, and I have seen some of the pearls which the Dutch brought from thence. They were of very beautiful water, and some of them of large size, but all *baroques*. The Japanese, as I have above said, do not esteem pearls. If they cared about them it is possible that by their means some banks might be discovered where finer ones would be obtained.

Before concluding this chapter I shall make a very important remark in reference to pearls and the differences in their waters, some being very white, others tending to yellow, and others to black, and some which are, so to speak, lead-coloured. As for the last, they are only found in AMERICA, and this colour is caused by the nature of the bottom, which is muddier than in the East. In a return cargo which the late M. DU JARDIN,[1] the well-known jeweller, had in the Spanish gallions, there were included six perfectly round pearls, but black as jet, which weighed altogether 12 carats. He gave them to me with some other things to take to the East, to see if they could be disposed of, but I brought them back again, as I found no one who would look at them.[2] As for the pearls tending to yellow, the colour is due to the fact that the fishermen sell the oysters in heaps, and the merchants awaiting sometimes up to fourteen or fifteen days till the shells open of themselves, in order to extract the pearls, some of these oysters lose their water during this time, decay, and become putrid, and the pearls become yellow by contact. This is so true that in all

[1] See p. 159.

[2] Black pearls do not suit dark complexions so well as the lighter kinds.

oysters which have retained their water the pearls are always white. They are allowed to open of themselves, because if they are opened by force, as we open our oysters in the shell, the pearl may be damaged and broken. The oysters of the MANAR Strait open of themselves, spontaneously, five or six days sooner than those of the Gulf of PERSIA, because the heat is much greater at MANAR, which is at the 10th degree of North Latitude,[1] while the island of BAHREN is at about the 27th. And consequently among the pearls which come from MANAR there are few yellow ones found. Finally, all the Orientals are very much of our taste in matters of whiteness, and I have always remarked that they prefer the whitest pearls,[2] the whitest diamonds, the whitest bread, and the whitest women.

[1] The true Latitude of Manar, a gulf or arm of the sea between Ceylon and Southern India, is about 8° to 9° N. Lat., and of Bahren about 27° as stated.

[2] On p. 109 it was stated that slightly yellow pearls have the preference.

CHAPTER XXI

Concerning the manner in which Pearls originate in Oysters, how they are fished for and at what Seasons.

I AM aware that according to the testimony of some ancient authors, who were not well instructed in these matters, it was commonly believed that the pearl originates from the dew of heaven, and that but one is found in each oyster; but experience proves the contrary. For, as regards the first, the oyster does not stir from the bottom of the sea, where the dew cannot penetrate, and sometimes it is necessary to dive for them to a depth of 12 *cubits*, as we shall see presently; and as for the other, it is common to find up to six or seven pearls in a single oyster, and I have seen one in which there were up to ten in process of formation. It is true that they are not all of the same size, because they are produced in the oyster in the same manner as eggs are in the interior of a fowl: as the largest egg advances towards the orifice and goes out first, while the small eggs remain inside to complete their formation; so the largest pearl advances first, and the other, smaller ones, not having arrived at their full perfection, remain under the oyster at the bottom of the shell until they have attained the size which nature

gives them.[1] But it cannot be said that there are pearls in all oysters, and one may open many in which none are found.

Moreover, it should not be supposed that a great profit is earned by those who fish for pearls; for if the poor people who engage in it had anything else to do they would leave the fishing, which merely saves them from dying of hunger.[2] I have remarked in my account of PERSIA, that from BASSORA up to CAPE JASQUE,[3] on both coasts of the Gulf of PERSIA, the land produces nothing. The people there are so poor, and live in so miserable a manner, that they never have any bread or rice, and have only dates and salt fish for their food, and you must travel nearly 20 leagues inland before finding grass.

This fishing in the Eastern seas takes place twice in the year, the first being in March and April, and the second in August and September, and the sale lasts from the month of June till November, but this fishing does not take place every year. For those who fish like to know beforehand whether it will pay. In order not to be deceived they send to the fisheries seven or eight boats, each of which brings back about 1000 oysters, which are opened, and if there is not

[1] This physiological explanation will hardly receive acceptance at the present time. (Comp. *Pliny*, Book IX, chap. 57.)

[2] Diamond and gold washing have always, likewise, been the most miserably requited trades in India.

[3] Cape Jask, or the *Rás Jáshak* of the Arabs, is "a point on the eastern side of the Gulf of Oman near the entrance to the Persian Gulf, and 6 miles south of a port of the same name. The latter was frequented by the vessels of the English Company whilst the Portuguese held Hormuz. After the Portuguese were driven out of Hormuz (1622) the English trade was moved to Gombroon." (Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 345.)

found in every thousand oysters the value of 5 *fanos* of pearls—that is to say a half *écu* of our money,[1]—it is accepted as a proof that the fishing will not be good, and that these poor people would not recover the outlay which they would have to incur. For both on account of their outfit and for their food during the time of the fishing they borrow money at the rate of from 3 to 4 per cent per month. Accordingly, if, at the least, 1000 oysters do not yield 5 *fanos* worth of pearls, they do not fish during that year. The merchants buy the oysters on chance, and content themselves with what they find inside. It is a great piece of good fortune when large pearls are found, but it rarely occurs, especially at the MANAR fishery, which produces no large ones, as I have said, the majority being only pearls to be sold by the ounce and ground into powder.[2] Only a few among them weigh half a grain or a grain, and it is a great event when any of 2 or 3 carats are found. In some years the 1000 oysters contain up to 7 *fanos* worth, and the whole fishing yields 100,000 *piastres* and over.[3] While the Portuguese were masters of MANAR they levied toll from every boat, and the Dutch, who have taken possession of it from them, now levy 8 *piastres* from each diver, and sometimes up to 9; this yields them a revenue in the best years amounting to 17,200 *reals*. The reason why the Portuguese took this revenue from these poor people, and why the Dutch take it still, being that they are obliged to protect them against

[1] Or 2s. 3d. The *écu* being worth 2 rupees, or 4s. 6d., therefore these *fanos* were worth 5.4d. each.

[2] The term *aljofar* was applied by the Portuguese to seed pearls, said to be from *al'jauhar*, Arab., a jewel. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.)

[3] With the *piastre* at 4s. 6d. this would be equal to £22,500.

their enemies, the *Malabaris*, who come with armed boats to capture these fishers in order to make slaves of them.

Whilst the fishing lasts the Dutch always keep, at sea, two or three armed boats on the quarter whence the *Malabaris* come, these precautions being taken so that the work may proceed in safety. The fishermen are for the most part idolaters, but there are also Muhammadans who have separate boats. They never mingle with one another, and the Dutch levy more from the latter than from the others. For the Muhammadans, besides having to pay as much as the idolaters, have also to give one day's take, the particular day being left to the choice of the Dutch.

The heavier the rainfall in the year, the better is the pearl-fishery. But since many think that at the greatest depths at which the oyster is found, the pearl is whitest, because the water is not so hot there, and the sun has more difficulty in penetrating to the bottom, it is necessary to correct this error. The fishing is carried on in from 4 to 12 *cubits* depth on the banks, where there are sometimes up to 250 boats. In the majority (of the boats) there is but one diver, and in the largest only two. These boats sail from the coast every day before sunrise, with a land wind which never fails and lasts till 10 A.M. In the afternoon they return with a wind from the sea, which succeeds the land-wind, and does not fail to blow at 11 or 12 o'clock, as soon as the other has ceased. The banks are at 5 or 6 leagues out to sea, and when the boats have arrived there the oysters are fished for in the following manner:—

A cord is tied under the arms of those who dive,

which those who remain in the boats hold by the end. Attached to the diver's great toe is a stone of 18 to 20 pounds weight, which those who remain in the boat also hold by a rope. They have also a net made like a sack, the mouth of which is surrounded by a hoop to keep it open, and this net is attached like the rest. Then the diver plunges into the sea, and as soon as he reaches the bottom, which he does quickly, on account of the weight of the stone attached to his great toe, he removes the stone, and those who are in the barque draw it up. For as long as the diver is able to hold his breath he puts oysters into the net, and as soon as he feels that he is unable to hold out longer, he pulls the cord which is tied under his arms; this is the signal for him to be drawn up, which those who are in the boat do as quickly as they can. The people of MANAR are better fishers, and remain for a longer time under the water than those of BAHREN and EL'KATIF, for they do not place any clips on their noses nor cotton in their ears to keep the water from entering, as is done in the PERSIAN GULF.

After the diver has been drawn into the boat the nets containing the oysters are hauled up, and it requires about seven or eight minutes to lift the oysters and to give the diver time to regain breath, after which he returns to the bottom as before; this he does many times during ten or twelve hours, and then returns to land. Those who are in want of money sell what they have taken, at once, but those who have what they require to live on, keep the oysters until the whole fishing is finished. The oysters are left unopened, and as they decay open of themselves. There are some of these shells which are four times as large as those of

our ROUEN oysters, but as the flesh of this kind of oyster, of which we speak, is poor and of bad flavour, it is not eaten but is thrown away.

To conclude the discourse on pearls, it should be remarked that throughout EUROPE they are sold by carat weight, which is equal to 4 grains, the same as the diamond weight, but in ASIA the weight is different. In PERSIA the pearls are weighed by the *abás*, and an *abás* is an eighth less than our carat. In INDIA, and in all the territories of the GREAT MOGUL and the Kings of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR, they are weighed by *ratis*, and the *rati* is also an eighth less than the carat.[1]

GOA was formerly the place where there was the largest trade in all ASIA in diamonds, rubies, sapphires, topazes, and other stones. All the miners and merchants went there to sell the best which they had obtained at the mines, because they had there full liberty to sell, whereas, in their own country, if they showed anything to the Kings or Princes, they were compelled to sell at whatever price they pleased to fix. There was also at GOA a large trade in pearls, both of those which came from the island of BAHREN in the PERSIAN GULF, and those fished for in the straits of MANAR on the coast of the island of CEYLON, as also of those which were brought from AMERICA. It should be known then, that in GOA and in all the other places which the Portuguese hold in INDIA, they have a particular weight for pearls which is not used in the other places where there is a trade in pearls, neither in

[1] Kelly in the *Universal Cambist*, i, p. 278, gives the value of the Persian *abás* as 3.66 diamond grains = 2.25 (2.9 ?) troy grains. But it has been shown that the pearl *rati* of our author was equal to 2.77 troy grains. (See vol. i, Appendix, p. 417, and Preface, vol. ii, for correction.)

EUROPE, ASIA, nor AMERICA. I do not include AFRICA, because this trade is unknown there, and because in that part of the world the women content themselves, in lieu of jewels, with pieces of crystal, beads of false coral or yellow amber, of which they make necklaces and bracelets to wear on their arms and legs.

The Portuguese, then, in all the places in INDIA where they are in authority, sell pearls by a weight which they call *chegos*, but buy them of the merchants, according to the places from whence they bring them, by carats, *abás*, or *ratis*. The table which follows shows the *ratio* between these *chegos* and carats.

Carats.	Chegos.	Carats.	Chegos.	Carats.	Chegos.	Carats.	Chegos.
1	5	11	84	21	306	31	667¼
2	8	12	100	22	336	32	711
3	11½	13	117	23	367¼	33	756¼
4	16	14	136	24	400	34	802¾
5	21	15	156	25	430	35	850½
6	27	16	177¾	26	469¼	36	900
7	34	17	200½	27	506¼	37	950½
8	44	18	225	28	544½	38	1002¾
9	56	19	250½	29	584	39	1056
10	69	20	277¾	30	625	40	1111¼[1]

[1] With such an extraordinary table of equivalents one may easily understand the difficulty that is experienced in reconciling statements about weights and measures. If 1 carat equals 5 *chegos*, it might be supposed that 20 carats would equal 100 *chegos*, and 40 carats 200; but it will be seen that the equivalents above given are 277¾ and 1111¼ respectively. (See Preface for explanation.)

The relationship between the real weight called the *mangelin* in Madras, and the nominal weight called *chow*, though it does not elucidate this table, throws some light on the subject. *Rule*—Square the number of *mangelins*, and divide three-fourths of this product by the number of pearls. The quotient is the number of *chows*. *Example*—To find value of 21 pearls weighing 16 *mangelins* at 12 *pagodas* per *chow*, $16 \times 16 \times \frac{3}{4} = 192$, $192 \div 21 = 9$ *chows* 9/21 parts, which at 96s. per *chow* = £43 : 17 : 8¾. (See Kelly, *Universal Cambist*, p. 92.)

CHAPTER XXII

Remarks upon the largest and most beautiful Diamonds and Rubies which the Author has seen in EUROPE *and* ASIA, *the figures of which are here given, together with those of large Stones which he sold to the King on his return from his last Journey to* INDIA, *with a representation of a magnificent Topaz, and the largest Pearls in the World.*

I SHALL follow the order of the figures as they are arranged by their numbers, and I shall commence with the heaviest diamond of which I have any knowledge :—

No. 1. This diamond[1] belongs to the GREAT MOGUL, who did me the honour to have it shown to me with all his other jewels. You see represented here its form after having been cut, and, as I was allowed to weigh it, I ascertained that it weighed 319½ *ratis*, which are equal to $279\frac{9}{16}$ of our carats. When in the rough it weighed, as I have elsewhere said, 907 *ratis*, or $793\frac{5}{8}$ carats. This stone is of the same form as if one cut an egg through the middle.[2]

[1] For full discussion of all the facts connected with the Great Mogul's diamond, see Appendix I, and Index.

[2] This operation may be performed in either of two ways; from the figure given by Tavernier he evidently means transversely. The Koh-i-núr as it was when brought to England might be described as of

No. 2 represents the form of the Grand Duke of TUSCANY's diamond, which he has had the goodness to show me upon more than one occasion. It weighs 139½ carats, but it is unfortunate that its water tends towards the colour of citron.[1]

No. 3 is of a stone[2] weighing 176⅛ *mangelins*, which amount to 242$\frac{5}{16}$ of our carats. The *mangelin*, as I have said, is the weight used in the Kingdoms of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR, and it amounts to 1⅜ of our carats. When at GOLCONDA in the year 1642, I was shown this stone, and it is the largest diamond I have seen in INDIA in the possession of merchants. The owner allowed me to make a model of it in lead, which I sent to SURAT to two of my friends, telling them of its beauty and the price, namely 500,000 rupees, which amount to 750,000 *livres* of our money.[3] I received an order from them, that, if it was clean and of fine water, to offer 400,000 rupees, but it was impossible to purchase it at that price. Nevertheless, I believe

the shape of half an egg, cut longitudinally, but this difference of form, as I shall explain, was the result of the mutilation to which it was subjected. (See Appendix I.)

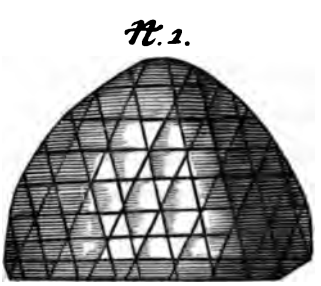
[1] For identification of this stone with the Austrian yellow, now the property of the Emperor of Austria, and known as the Florentine, see *Index*. Its weight, as recently determined by Schrauf, is 133½ Vienna carats, or 27.454 *gramms*. His figure of it corresponds with that given by our Author. The figures of the Austrian yellow by Murray, and following him by Emanuel, represent a distinct stone.

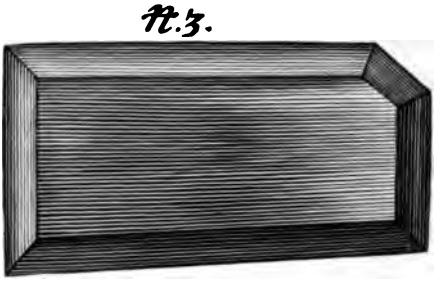
[2] It is not known whether this stone still exists in the form it had when seen by Tavernier. Mr. Streeter (*Great Diamonds*) devotes a chapter to it under the title "The Great Table." I do not know the source from whence the story which he gives as to its discovery by a Bheel Chief is derived. What has become of it is not known; it has most probably been broken up.

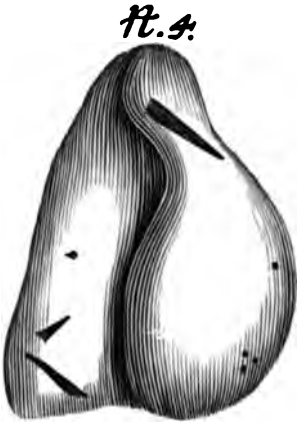
[3] £56,250.

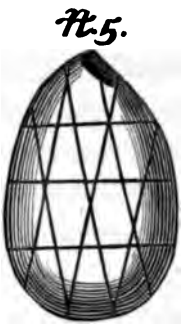
PLATE II.

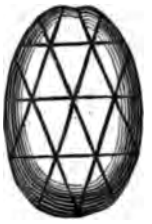
DIAMONDS.

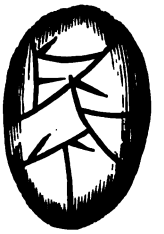












that it could have been obtained if they would have advanced their offer to 450,000 rupees.

No. 4 represents a diamond which I bought at AHMADÁBÁD for one of my friends. It weighed 178 *ratis*, or 157¼ of our carats.[1]

No. 5 represents the shape of the above mentioned diamond after it had been cut on both sides. Its weight was then 94½ carats, the water being perfect. The flat side, where there were two flaws at the base, was as thin as a sheet of thick paper. When having the stone cut I had all this thin portion removed, together with a part of the point above, where a small speck of flaw still remains.[2]

No. 6 represents another diamond which I bought in the year 1653 at the KOLLUR mine. It is beautiful and pure, cut at the mine. It is a thick stone, and weighs 36 *mangelins*, which are equal to 63⅜ of our carats.[3]

Nos. 7 and 8. The two pieces represented are from a cleaved stone, which, when whole, weighed 75⅝ *mangelins*, or 104 carats.[4] Although of good water, there appeared so much impurity inside it, that,

[1] The equivalent should be 155¾ carats.

[2] Mr. Streeter (*Great Diamonds*) heads a chapter with this, the "Ahmadábád Diamond," but so far as the stone is concerned, all that can be said is, that nothing is certainly known of its subsequent history. It may have been disposed of in Persia.

[3] The equivalent of 36 Kollur or Golconda *mangelins* in carats at 1⅜, is 49½ carats, and in Ramulkota *mangelins* at 1¾ (see p. 89) = 63 carats. Nothing further is known of this stone.

[4] Strictly 103$\frac{63}{64}$ carats, in round numbers therefore 104, the *mangelins* being those of Golconda at 1⅜ carats in this case.

as it was large and high-priced there was no one among the *Banians* who dared to purchase it. At length a Dutchman named BAZU ventured to do so, and, having had it cleaved, he found inside it about 8 carats weight of impurity like decomposed vegetable matter.[1] The small piece was clean, save for a nearly imperceptible flaw; but as for the other, where the flaws traversed right through, it had to be divided into seven or eight pieces. The Dutchman risked much in cleaving this stone, and it was a great piece of good luck for him that it did not break into a hundred fragments. Still, for all that, it did not repay him; this makes it sufficiently plain that where the *Banians* refuse to bite there is nothing to be hoped for by the *Franks*.

Figures of twenty Diamonds which the Author sold to the King on his return from his last Voyage to INDIA. *The figures before the Reader show the weight, the extent, and thickness of each Stone.*[2]

These are the figures of the most beautiful rubies in the world, and of the topaz of the GREAT MOGUL, in the order in which they are arranged here by numbers.

[1] This case has been quoted in connection with investigations into the nature and origin of the diamond. Mr. Streeter devotes a chapter to this diamond. (See *Great Diamonds*, chap. xxx, p. 218.)

[2] The violet-blue diamond A, and the two rose-coloured diamonds B and C, which are here figured, are referred to in "A Note about some unusual Diamonds," published in the *Phil. Trans.* for 27th April 1674, No. 102, p. 26, as being in a representation of a considerable number of diamonds, which were sold by Tavernier to the King of France. Hence it would seem that this plate reached the Royal Society in London before the publication of the travels in 1676. The adamantine hardness of the stones, in spite of their unusual colours, caused them to be admitted to be diamonds. The history of the blue diamond is well

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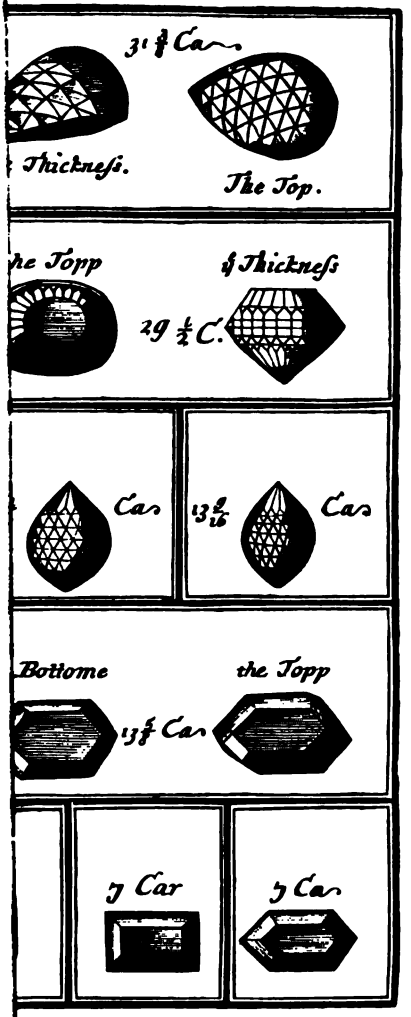

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No. 1. Figure of a ruby which belongs to the King of PERSIA. It is of the thickness and shape of an egg, is bored through and of very high colour, beautiful and clean, with the exception of a small flaw at the side. The custodians are unwilling to say what it cost, as is also the case with the pearl belonging to the same King, which is represented further on; they are likewise unwilling that any one should know what either of them weighs. Those who keep the registers of the King of PERSIA's jewels merely say that this ruby has been in the possession of the King for many years.

No. 2 represents a large stone believed to be a ruby, and sold as such to ZAFAR KHÁN, the GREAT MOGUL's uncle, who bought it for the sum of 95,000 rupees, which amount to 1,425,000 *livres*.[1] He presented it to the GREAT MOGUL, with many other precious things, on the King's festival, that is to say, the day whereon he is weighed, as I have elsewhere said. This stone having been priced at a little less than it cost, there happened to be present at that time an old Indian who had previously been chief jeweller to the King, but had been dismissed from his charge through jealousy. Having taken this stone in

told in Mr. Streeter's work on *The Great Diamonds*. The blue diamond which belonged to Mr. Hope, weighing 44¼ carats, is believed to be a fragment of this stone, which was stolen from the Garde Meuble in 1792.

[1] There is here a mistake on one side or the other; a cipher should either be added to the rupees or subtracted from the *livres*. See vol. i, p. 389, where the total value of a present made by Zafar Khán is put at 1,050,000, hence perhaps it may be concluded that the figure here should be 142,500 *livres*, but it is not certain that the occasions referred to were identical.

his hands, he maintained that it was not a *balass*[1] ruby, that ZAFAR KHÁN had been cheated, and that the stone was not worth more than 500 rupees. The King having been informed of the discussion, summoned the old Indian, with all the other jewellers, who maintained on their side that the stone was a *balass* ruby. As in the whole Empire of the GREAT MOGUL there was no one more proficient in the knowledge of stones than SHÁH JAHÁN, who was kept as a prisoner at AGRA by AURANGZEB, his son, the latter sent the stone to the King, his father, asking for his opinion. After full consideration he confirmed the verdict of the old jeweller, and said that it was not a *balass* ruby, and that its value did not exceed 500 rupees. The stone having been returned to AURANGZEB, he compelled the merchant who had sold it to take it back and return the money he had received.

Nos. 3 and 4 are figures of a ruby which belongs to the King of BIJAPUR. No. 4 shows the height of the stone above the ring, and No. 3 the circuit of the *chaton*.[2] It weighs 14 *mangelins*, which equal 17½ of our carats, the *mangelin* at BIJAPUR being 5 grains.[3] It is hollowed from beneath (*i.e.* cut *en cabuchon*), clean, and of the first quality. The King of BIJAPUR bought it in the year 1653 for the sum of 14,200 new *pagodas*, the *pagoda* being then worth 3½ rupees, this, in our money, would be equal to 74,550 *livres*.[4]

[1] *Ballet* in the original, for *balass*. (See vol. i, p. 382 *n.*)

[2] The *chaton* is the bezel of a ring which holds a jewel in position.

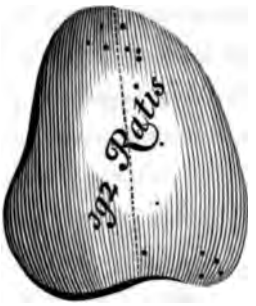
[3] On p. 124 the Bijapur *mangelin* is said to be equal to 1⅜ carats (*i.e.* 5½ diamond grains), and 14 *mangelins* should therefore be equal to 19¼ carats.

[4] £5591 : 5s.

PLATE IV.

RUBIES AND TOPAZ.

№ 1 *



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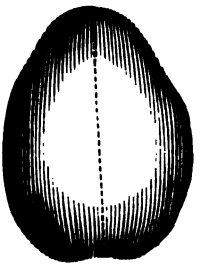

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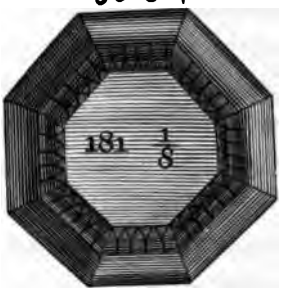

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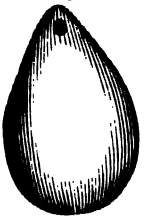

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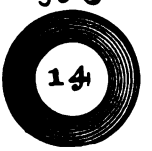


No. 5 is the figure of a ruby which a *Banian* merchant showed me at BENARES on the occasion of my last visit to INDIA. It weighs 58 *ratis*, or $50\frac{3}{4}$[1] carats, and is of the second quality. Its form is of an almond *cabuchon* somewhat hollowed beneath, and bored near the point. I was willing to give 40,000 rupees for it, which make 60,000 *livres*,[2] but the merchant to whom it belonged asked 55,000 rupees. I believe I could have got it for 50,000 rupees.[3]

No. 6 is the figure of the large topaz of the GREAT MOGUL. I did not see him wear any other jewel during the time I remained at his Court on my last visit to INDIA. This topaz weighs $181\frac{1}{8}$ *ratis*, or $157\frac{1}{4}$ carats.[4] It was bought at GOA for the GREAT MOGUL, for the sum of 181,000 rupees, or 271,500 *livres* of our money.[5]

No. 7. These grand monarchs of ASIA are not the only ones in the world who are in possession of beautiful stones. I have not seen as large rubies in any of the thrones of the GREAT MOGUL as are those represented in the plate Nos. 7, 8, and 9, which belong to our great King, the most powerful and magnificent, in all respects, among the Monarchs of the earth!

[1] At the rate of one *rati* = $\frac{7}{8}$th of a carat.

[2] £4500. [3] £5750.

[4] $181\frac{1}{8}$ *ratis* = $158\frac{1}{2}$ carats nearly. In vol. i, p. 400, it was said to weigh 6 *melscals* = 1 Fr. *once*. It was probably the stone referred to in vol. i, p. 372. Bernier, already quoted, alludes to it as "a beautiful oriental topaz of matchless size and splendour, shining like a little sun." (*Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p. 179, Calcutta, 1826.)

[5] £20,412 : 10s.

Here again are figures of the largest pearls of which we have knowledge, in the order of their numbers.

No. 1 is the figure of a pearl which the King of PERSIA bought in the year 1633 from an Arab who had just received it from the fisheries at EL KATIF. It cost him 32,000 *tomans*, or 1,400,000 *livres* of our money, at the rate of 46 *livres* and 6 *deniers* per *toman*.[1] It is the largest and most perfect pearl ever discovered, and it has not the least defect.

No. 2 is the figure of the largest pearl which I saw at the Court of the GREAT MOGUL. It is suspended from the neck of a peacock made of precious stones, and rests on the breast, and this peacock surmounts the throne.

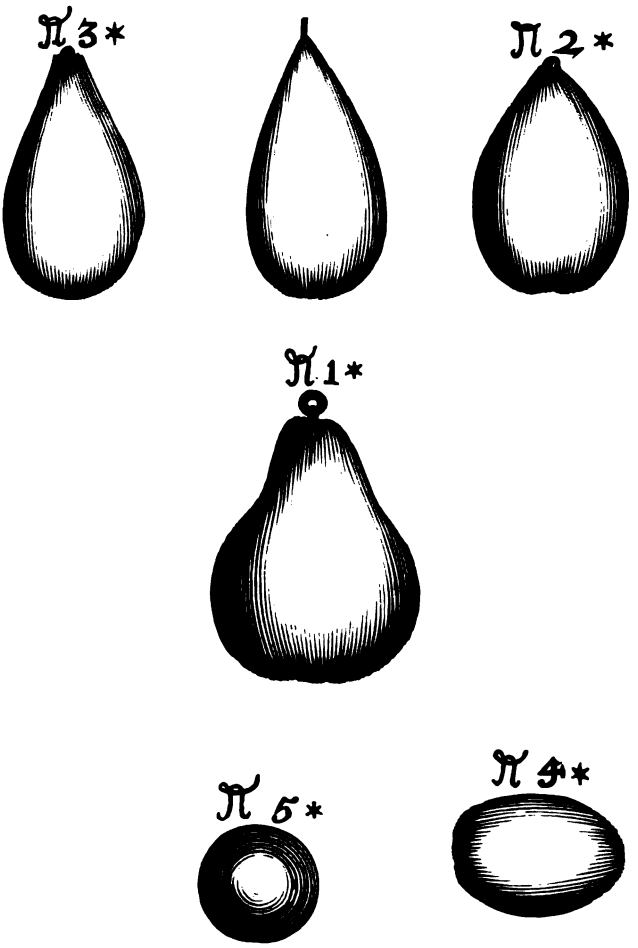
No. 3 is the figure of a pearl which I sold, on my last journey, to SHÁISTÁ KHÁN,[2] uncle of the GREAT MOGUL and Governor of BENGAL. It weighs 55 carats, but the water is somewhat dead; it is the largest pearl which has ever been taken from EUROPE to ASIA.

[1] 32,000 × 46*l.* 6*d.* = 1,472,800 *livres* = £110,460, and 32,000 *tomans* at £3 : 9s. = £110,400. Ainslie, referring to this in his chapter on pearls as a drug, erroneously states that Tavernier himself paid the enormous sum of £110,000 for this pearl. (*Materia Medica*, vol. i, p. 294.) A value of £64,000 for this pearl is mentioned by Streeter (*Precious Stones and Gems*, 3d Edition, part iii, p. 14), but that sum appears to have been derived from an under-estimate of the equivalent values of the *livre* and *toman*, as known to Tavernier.

[2] See for the incidents connected with the sale of this pearl Book I, chap. viii. It was the cause of serious disagreement between Tavernier and Sháistá Khán. On p. 112 Tavernier states that it came from the American pearl fishery.

PLATE V.

PEARLS.



No. 4 is the figure of a large pearl perfect both as regards its water and its form which is like that of an olive. It is in the middle of a chain of emeralds and rubies that the GREAT MOGUL sometimes wears round his neck, and it hangs down to his waist.

No. 5. As a round pearl of perfect form, this is the largest I know of, and it belongs to the GREAT MOGUL. Its equal has never been found, for which reason the GREAT MOGUL has not worn it, but has left it with other jewels which are unmounted. For if a match for it had been found, the pair might have been used as ear pendants, and each of the two pearls would have been placed between two rubies or two emeralds, in conformity with the custom of the country, there being no one, whether small or great, who, in proportion to his means, does not carry in each ear a pearl set between two coloured stones.

CHAPTER XXIII

Concerning Coral and Yellow Amber and the places where they are found.

ALTHOUGH coral does not rank among precious stones in EUROPE, it is nevertheless held in high esteem in the other quarters of the globe, and it is one of the most beautiful of nature's productions, so that there are some nations who prefer it to precious stones. I shall set down here, in a few words what I have been able to ascertain about the places where it is fished for, and of the manner in which it is obtained.

I shall say in the first place that there are three fisheries on the coast of SARDINIA. That obtained at ARGUERREL[1] is the best and the most beautiful of all, the second locality is called BOZA,[2] and the third is close to the island of ST. PIERRE.[3] There is another fishery on the coasts of the island of CORSE,[4] and the coral found there is slender but beautiful in colour. It is found at two other places on the coast of AFRICA—one near the BASTION DE FRANCE,[5] and the other at

[1] *Arguerrel* not identified.

[2] *Boza*, on the west coast of Sardinia, about 5 miles from Cagliari.

[3] *St. Pierre* is probably some small islet not on ordinary maps.

[4] Corsica.

[5] The *Bastion de France* was one of the forts belonging to France on the coast of Algiers before the nineteenth century. It was near La Callé, which in 1594 belonged to France, and was the centre of a coral fishery. It is now destroyed.

TABARQUE[1]; the coral from this locality is fairly thick and long, but the colours are pale. There is a seventh fishery on the coast of SICILY, near TRAPANO[2]; the coral there is slender, but of good colour. There is still another locality on the coast of CATALOGNE, towards CAPE DE QUIERS[3]; the coral there is of excellent colour and thick, but the branches are very short. There is, moreover, a ninth fishery in the island of MAJORQUE,[4] of the same nature as that of the island of CORSE; and these are all the places in the MEDITERRANEAN where there are coral fisheries,[5] for there are none in the Ocean.[6] The following is the method of fishing for it.

As coral grows under hollowed rocks where the sea is deep, the following device is used in order to obtain it. The fishers bind two rafters together in the form of a cross, and place a large lump of lead in the centre to make them sink to the bottom. They then bind tufts of hemp about the rafters, and twist them irregularly to the size of the thumb, and attach the wood by two

[1] Tabarka, a rocky islet on north coast of Tunis, near La Callé.

[2] Trepani, the Drepanum of the ancients, 18 miles north of Marsala.

[3] Catalonia, in Spain. *Cape de Quiers* has not been identified.

[4] Majorca. The fact of there being so much variation in the characters of the coral from these different localities should be of some interest to naturalists.

[5] "The most important fisheries extend along the coasts of Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, but red coral is also obtained in the vicinity of Naples, near Leghorn and Genoa, and on the coasts of Sardinia, Corsica, Catalonia, and Provence. It is said that it attains greater perfection in the East than in the South, and that it is rarely found in a western, and never in a northern aspect." (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, Art. "Coral.")

[6] This is now known to be not correct, since "red or precious coral occurs at San Jago and also at St. Vincent. . . . It occurs in about 100 or 120 fathoms, and is dragged for with swabs as in the Mediterranean." (Prof. Moseley, *Notes of a Naturalist on the Challenger*, p. 65.)

ropes, one of which hangs from the bow and the others from the stern of the boat. They then allow the wood to drift with the current across the rocks, and the hemp becoming entangled about the coral, it sometimes requires five or six boats to hoist the rafters; and when exerting the great strain necessary, if one of the cables breaks all the rowers are in danger of perishing; it is a very dangerous trade. When dragging up the coral thus, by force, for as much as is drawn out an equal quantity falls back into the sea, and the bottom being generally very muddy, the coral is injured from day to day, as our fruits on the earth are, by worms, so that the sooner it is extracted from the mud the less is it deteriorated. In reference to this I may say that I have seen, at MARSEILLES, something wonderful in a shop where coral was worked. There was a piece as big as the thumb, and as it was somewhat glassy it was cut in two, and a worm was found inside, which I saw wriggle, it had been kept alive for some months by shutting it up in its hole. For it should be remarked that among some branches of coral there grows a sort of sponge similar to our honeycombs, where small worms ensconce themselves like bees—in such ways does nature delight to diversify her works. Some persons believe that coral is soft in the sea, but, as a matter of fact, it is hard. It is, however, true that in certain months of the year one can express from the ends of the branches a kind of milk as from the breast of a woman.[1] This may be the seed which, falling upon whatsoever it meets with in the sea, produces another branch of coral,—thus, for instance, it has been found on a human skull, upon the blade of a sword, and upon a grenade which had fallen

[1] This refers to the ova of the coral polypes.

into the sea, where it was interlaced in the branches of coral to the height of six inches; and I have had the grenade in my hands.

The coral fishery lasts from the commencement of April to the end of July, and generally 200 boats are engaged in it, some years more and some less. They are built beside the GENOA river, and are very light. They carry much sail in order to sail fast, there being no other part of the MEDITERRANEAN where boats carry so much, and there are no galleys able to outstrip them. There are seven men to each boat, with a boy to attend on them. The fishing is carried on at from 25 to 40 miles from the land, where it is believed there are rocks, the boats not advancing farther to sea for fear of pirates, from whom they escape, when they meet them, by swift sailing.

I have to make a remark here about coral in reference to certain nations of the East. The Japanese, as I have said, neither esteem pearls nor precious stones, but they value beautiful beads of coral, which serves to close their bags; these bags are made, as they were formerly, in FRANCE. It is for this purpose that they use the largest beads of coral, to run on a silken cord which closes the bag, so that in order that they may be able to possess one of the size of an egg, beautiful and clean, without any spot upon it, they will pay whatever you ask. The Portuguese, who formerly did a large trade in Japan, have often assured me that they could obtain for one as much as 20,000 *écus*.[1] It is much to be wondered that the Japanese give so much money for a fine piece of coral, since they have a contempt for jewels, caring only for things which are

[1] £4500.

little thought of elsewhere. They attach great value to the skin of a particular fish, which is rougher than shagreen; this fish has on the back, as it were, six small bones, and sometimes eight, which are elevated and form a circle, with another in the middle, resembling a rose of diamonds.[1] They make sword scabbards of these fish-skins, and the more symmetrically these small bones form the rose and are arranged, the more money is given for them—sometimes up to 10,000 *écus*,[2] as the Dutch have assured me. To return to coral and to finish the discourse about it, it should be added that the common people wear it and use it as an ornament for the neck and arms throughout ASIA, but principally towards the north in the territories of the GREAT MOGUL, and beyond them, in the mountains, of the Kingdoms of ASSAM and BHUTÁN.[3]

Yellow amber is not found except on a particular coast of DUCAL PRUSSIA, in the BALTIC SEA,[4] where the sea during certain winds throws it from time to time on the sand. The Elector of BRANDENBURG, who

[1] This appears to have been the skin of some kind of shark or ray. I have seen, but cannot now refer to figures of it in some of the old Dutch and Portuguese travels. A common kind of it is still to be seen on the handles of the Japanese swords, of which such large numbers have been recently imported. In his chapter on the *Conduite des Hollandois en Asie*, published in the *Recüeil*, 1679 Ed., p. 17, Tavernier gives a further account of it. He says a perfect skin was worth up to 10,000 *écus*, an ordinary one being obtainable for 1 *écu*. The fish, he adds, occurred in the Persian Gulf.

[2] The French editions of 1679 and 1713 have 1000 *écus*.

[3] The reason for the preference shown for coral is probably to be attributed to the way its tints adapt themselves to set off a dark skin, and also look well with a white garment.

[4] The source of amber in Upper Burmah in the Hukung valley was not known to Tavernier. (See *Economic Geology of India*, p. 57, for a description of the mines there.)

is the proprietor of it, farms out all this coast for from 18,000 to 20,000 *écus* a year, and sometimes up to 22,000 *écus;* and the farmers employ watchmen, who traverse the length of the shore, the sea throwing the amber sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, so that no one can steal it; and whoever ventures to do so receives corporal chastisement.

Amber is nothing more than a congelation of a species of gum which forms in the sea. This experience sufficiently proves, because numerous pieces are to be seen which contain flies and other insects congealed in them.[1] I have had many such pieces, and one, among others, which had four or five small flies inside it.

As I have made a remark about coral in reference to JAPAN, I shall make another about amber in reference to CHINA. It is a custom among the Chinese that when any great noble gives a feast, his reputation for grandeur and magnificence depends upon his having brought in, at the close of the repast, three or four perfume-pans and his having thrown into each of them a large quantity of amber, sometimes to the value of 1000 *écus* and upwards, in consideration of the fact that the more he burns, and the larger the pieces, the more magnificent is the entertainment regarded, for a piece weighing one *livre* is worth 200 to 300 *écus.*[2] They use amber for this purpose because they adore fire, and because amber, thrown in the fire, yields a certain odour which is not unpleasing to the Chinese; as it contains a kind of oil it gives out a flame exceeding

[1] Tavernier had therefore an approximately correct idea as to the true nature and origin of amber as a fossilised vegetable production.

[2] *I.e.* £45 to £67 : 10s. per *livre.*

most other flames. This profusion and waste explain the reason why amber is one of the best articles of merchandise that one could carry to CHINA if trade had been open to foreigners, but the Dutch Company strictly reserve to themselves the trade in it—the Chinese coming to buy it from them at BATAVIA.

I am unwilling to finish this chapter without making some remarks on ambergris also. We do not very well know either how it is formed or where it is found; but it would appear as though it can only be in the seas of the East, although it has sometimes been found on the English and other European coasts.[1] The largest quantity of it is found on the coast of MELINDA, principally towards the mouths of the rivers, and especially at the mouth of that which is called RIO DI SENA.[2] When the Governor of MOZAMBIQUE returns

[1] Ambergris, as is now well known, consists of the *fæces* of the Cachelot or Sperm whale, *Physeter macrocephalus*, which inhabits the Indian Ocean. Garcia de Orta in his chapter on ambergris speaks of ambergris containing beaks of birds. These were no doubt the beaks of the cuttlefish upon which these whales feed. A form of this story is told by Barbosa ("The East African Malabar Coasts," in *Hak. Soc.*, 1866), who says ambergris is the guano of birds which has been swallowed and voided by whales. Chardin (vol. iv, p. 47) doubts the connection with birds, but mentions a number of alternative myths as to its origin. Ainslie (*Materia Medica*, vol. i, pp. 15-17) gives an interesting account of it, and refers to a vegetable ambergris yielded by a tree in Guiana. He says, like many other authors, that the best ambergris was obtained on the coast of Madagascar. In the *Daily Press* there recently appeared a paragraph headed "An Ambergris King," in which one William A. Atkins, the owner of a fleet of Cape Cod whalers, is described as having the monopoly of the ambergris trade of America —the ambergris being for equal weights worth more than gold. Owing to ambergris being called *ambra* by some nations, very erroneous statements occur in many authorities as to the distribution in the East of true amber, for which it has been mistaken. (See *Economic Geology of India.*)

[2] See p. 157.

to GOA at the close of three years, when the term of his government is ended, he generally brings with him about 300,000 *pardos* worth of ambergris, and the *pardo*, as I have elsewhere said, amounts to 27 *sols* of our money.[1] Sometimes pieces of ambergris of considerable size and weight are found. In the year 1627 a Portuguese vessel sailing from GOA to the MANILLAS, after it had passed the Straits of MALACCA was overtaken by a tempest which lasted many days and nights, the sky being always concealed, and it being impossible for the pilot to take observations. Meanwhile the rice and other articles of food began to be exhausted, and the crew began to discuss whether they should not throw the blacks who were in the vessel into the sea in order to preserve the food for the white men. They were about to carry this into execution, when one morning the sun showing itself, disclosed to them an island to which they were tolerably near, but were, however, unable to anchor till the following day, the sea being high and the wind unfavourable. There were in the vessel a Frenchman, named MARIN RENAUD, of ORLEANS, and his brother, who on going on shore found a river and went to bathe at its mouth, together with two Portuguese corporals and a sergeant. One of the corporals when bathing perceived in the water a large mass which floated near the shore, and which he concluded, on going near it, was a sort of spongy stone, and left it without another thought, as did the four others, who also went to look at it and handled it without being able to make out what it was. Having returned to the vessel this same corporal reflected during the night as to what this object, of

[1] 27 *sols* = 2s. ·03d., or say 2s. 300,000 *pardos* therefore = £30,000.

which he had been unable to ascertain the nature, could be, and having heard ambergris spoken of, began to think that it might be it, in which he was not mistaken. The following day, without saying anything to his comrades, he took a sack and got himself put on shore, and going to the river as though he wished to bathe again, found the piece of ambergris and carried it secretly to the vessel, where he placed it in his box. He was unable to restrain himself from communicating the fact the same evening to MARIN RENAUD, who was unwilling to believe at first that it was really ambergris, but having well considered it thought at length that the corporal was right. He, taking all chances, offered the piece to MARIN for two *pains* of Chinese gold, and the golden *pain* is equal to 600 *livres*[1] of our money; but MARIN was only willing to give one; the other held out on his side and kept the piece in his box. A few days afterwards, either spite at not being able to get the piece of ambergris for what he had offered caused MARIN to speak, or the matter was discovered by some other way, the report, however, was spread throughout the vessel that the corporal had a considerable piece of ambergris in his box, which he had found by chance on the shore of this island near to which the Portuguese were at anchor, and the sailors and soldiers then insisted on having their share. MARIN RENAUD out of petty revenge set the ball a-rolling and taught them their lesson. They told the corporal that being all comrades, and all running the same risks, it was just that they

[1] Literally "loaves." The English name for the ingots of gold used in currency by the Chinese was "shoes"; the equivalent value here would be £45. See vol. i, Appendix.

should all share the benefits which fortune offered them in common; and, moreover, that he was not the only one to whom she had disclosed this piece of ambergris, which should consequently be divided between all the crew. The corporal defended himself on his side as well as he could, and as there were some who took his part, in the hope of having a better share of the piece if there were few pretenders to it, the dispute became so hot that at length it gave rise to a disturbance, which the captain of the vessel immediately sought to allay by his prudence. He represented to the sailors and soldiers that this large piece of ambergris, which, on his weighing it in their presence, proved to be 33 *livres* in weight, being a rare piece and worthy of being presented to the King, it was a pity to break it into so many small pieces; that they would find it pay them better to keep it till their return to GOA, where, on presenting it to the Viceroy, he would not fail to pay well for it, and by this means they would each receive much more. This suggestion of the captain's was generally approved. They pursued their route to the MANILLAS, and on their return the piece of ambergris was taken to the Viceroy. The captain told him beforehand how the matter stood, and they concerted together as to the means whereby they could secure the ambergris without it costing the Viceroy anything. Those who presented it to him on the part of the sailors and soldiers were thanked for it, and the Viceroy told them that he recognised their goodwill by so splendid a present which he would send to the King, who at that time was PHILIPPE THE FOURTH, to whom PORTUGAL was still subject. Thus all the pretenders to the piece of ambergris were defrauded of their

expectations, and neither from the Viceroy nor the King himself, to whom the ambergris was sent, did they receive any gift.

I shall say one other word concerning a piece of ambergris weighing 42 *livres*. In the year 1646 or 1647 a ZEALANDER, of one of the best families of MIDDLEBOURG, who commanded for the Dutch Company in the Island of MAURICE, which is to the east of that of ST. LAURENS,[1] found this piece on the shore and sent it to the Company. As these people always have enemies, and there being a mark on the piece as if some one had broken a portion off, the Commander was accused of having stolen half, of which charge he cleared himself at BATAVIA. But the suspicion having always dwelt in the minds of many persons, and the Commander seeing that they would not give him another appointment, returned to ZEALAND on the same vessel upon which I then was.

[1] Mauritius and Madagascar, the latter having been known to the Portuguese as St. Lorenzo. Some say the Portuguese landed there first on the festival of the Saint, others that it was discovered by Lorenzo de Almeyda in 1506. (*Varthema* in *Hak. Soc.*, p. 296.)

CHAPTER XXIV

Concerning Musk and Bezoar and some other medicinal stones.

MUSK and bezoar being included among the rarest articles of trade, and the most precious which ASIA furnishes us with, I have considered it appropriate to devote a chapter to them, and present the reader with some remarks about these two articles.

The best kind and the greatest quantity of musk comes from the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, from whence it is conveyed to PATNA, the principal town of BENGAL, to be sold to the people of that country. All the musk which is sold in PERSIA comes from thence, and the merchants who sell musk prefer that you give them in exchange yellow amber and coral, rather than gold and silver, because they make great profits out of these two commodities. I had the curiosity to take a skin of this animal, which is here represented, to PARIS.[1]

After this animal has been killed, the bladder, which is situated under the belly, is cut off—it is of the size of an egg, and is closer to the genital parts than to the navel. The musk is then extracted from the bladder which contains it—it is then like coagu-

[1] The figure in the original, which it is needless to reproduce here, is a tolerable representation of the musk deer, *Moschus moschiferus* (Linn.)

lated blood. When the peasants wish to adulterate it, they insert some of the liver and the blood of the slaughtered animal mixed together, instead of the musk which they have withdrawn. This mixture generates in the bladders certain small worms which eat the good musk, so that when one opens them he finds that much has gone bad. Other peasants, when they have cut the bladder and have drawn as much musk as they can without its appearing to be too much, put in its place small pieces of lead to make it heavier. The merchants who buy it and transport it into foreign countries prefer this fraud to the other, because it does not generate these little worms. But the fraud is still more difficult to be discovered when they make small purses of the skin of the animal's stomach, which they sew up with threads of the same skin, so as to resemble the true bladders; these purses are filled with what has been removed from the good bladders, together with the fraudulent mixture which is added to it, so that it is difficult for the merchants to discover anything.[1] It is true that if they bind the bladder directly they cut it, without letting the air get to it, and without giving time to the odour to lose some of its strength by evaporation (while they take out what they want to remove), if this bladder should be held to the nose of any one, blood would immediately issue from it in consequence of the

[1] A still more remarkable method of adulteration is that mentioned by Barbosa, which consists, in short, of putting leeches on the living animal, after the musk has been removed, and then allowing them to gorge themselves with the blood, after which they are dried in the sun and pounded, and the substance so prepared is placed in counterfeit pods made of the skin of the animal. (See *The East African and Malabar Coasts, Hakluyt Society*, p. 187.)

pungency of the odour, which for this reason must be tempered to render it agreeable and prevent it from injuring the brain. The odour from the skin of this animal, which I took to PARIS, was so strong that it was impossible to keep the skin in my rooms, as it caused headache to all the people in the house, and it was necessary to put it in a garret, where at length my servants cut off the bladder—this did not prevent its always retaining something of the odour. You do not begin to meet with this animal till about the 56° of latitude; but at 60° it is in great abundance, the country there being well wooded. It is true that in the months of February and March, after these animals have suffered from famine in their own country on account of the snow, which falls in abundance to depths of 10 or 12 feet, they come south to 44° and 45°, to eat the corn and new rice, and it is at this time that the peasants entrap them, in snares which they set, and kill them with arrows and blows of sticks. Some persons have told me that the deer are so thin and feeble in consequence of the hunger from which they have suffered, that many allow themselves to be captured by coursing. There must be an enormous number of these animals, as each has but one bladder, the largest of which is ordinarily of the size of a hen's egg, and only yields half an ounce of musk. It sometimes requires even three or four of these bladders to make an ounce.[1]

[1] "The musk deer is found throughout the Himalayas, always at great elevations, and in summer rarely below 8000 feet, and as high as the limits of forest. It extends through the Himalayas to Central and Northern Asia as far as Siberia. A good musk pod is valued at from 10 to 15 rupees. One ounce is about the average produce of the pod." (Jerdon, *Mammals of India*, p. 268.) Adulteration, as it is described by Tavernier, appears to be still practised.

The King of BHUTÁN, of whom I shall speak in the following Book, in the description which I shall give of his Kingdom, fearing that the fraud done in musk might stop the trade, especially as musk is also obtained in TONQUIN or COCHIN-CHINA, but is much dearer because it is not so abundant there—this King, I say, fearing lest this falsification of goods would divert the trade from his territories, some time ago ordered that the bladders should not be stitched, but should be brought open to BHUTÁN, which is the place of his residence, to be examined and sealed with his seal. Those which I bought were of this kind; but notwithstanding all the King's precautions, the peasants open them secretly, and place small pieces of lead in them, as I have said; this the merchants tolerate, because the lead does not spoil the musk, and causes no injury, save in the weight. On one of my journeys to PATNA I bought 7673 bladders, which weighed 2557½ ounces, and 452 ounces without the bladders.[1]

Bezoar[2] comes from a Province of the Kingdom of GOLCONDA, towards the north-east. It is found in the

[1] From this, with similar statements about other commodities, we see that Tavernier did not limit his mercantile transactions to precious stones. In Book III, chap. xv, he again refers to this purchase (?), and says he bought 26,000 rupees worth—a Fr. ounce in the capsule costing 4 *livres* and 4 *sols*, *i.e.* about 6s. 3d., and out of the capsule 8 *francs*, or say 6s. 8d., or if *livres* are intended, 12s. But at these prices the quantity here mentioned falls far short of making the total sum of 26,000 rupees. This, supposing the occasions to be identical, as appears to be the case, is a characteristic Tavernier discrepancy.

[2] Bezoar is from *padzar*, Persian, the name given to intestinal calculi. It was formerly so highly esteemed in the East as a drug that the early European travellers all seemed to believe in its efficacy, and accounts of it are to be found in the writings by many of them. (See *note* 1, on p. 151.)

fodder in the paunches of goats which brouse on a tree, the name of which I have forgotten. This plant bears little buds, about which, and also on the tips of the branches, which the goats eat, the *bezoar* concretes in the bellies of these animals. It assumes a form according to the shape of the buds and the ends of the branches, and this is why one finds it in so many different shapes. The peasants, by feeling the belly of the goat, know how many *bezoars* it contains, and they sell the goat for a price in proportion to the number which are therein. In order to ascertain this, they run both hands under the belly of the goat and beat the paunch along both sides, so that all the stones fall to the middle thereof, and they then estimate exactly, by touch, how many *bezoars* are in it. The value of *bezoar* depends on the size, although the small possess no less virtue than the large. But in this respect one is often deceived by the fact that there are people who enlarge the *bezoar* with a kind of paste made of gum and other materials of the same colour as the *bezoar*. They understand, even, how to give as many coats as the natural *bezoar* ought to have. One can detect this fraud easily by two methods. The first by weighing the *bezoar* and placing it to steep for some time in lukewarm water; if the water does not change its colour, and if the *bezoar* does not lose weight, it has not been adulterated. The other means is to touch the *bezoar* with a pointed hot iron; if the iron enters it and makes it fry, it is a sign that it is a mixture, and that it is not genuine. For the rest, the larger the *bezoar* the higher the price, which rises in proportion like that of the diamond. For if 5 or 6 *bezoars* weigh an ounce, the ounce will be worth from 15 to 18

francs, but if it is a *bezoar* of one ounce, the ounce will be worth fully 100 *francs*. I have sold one of 4¼ ounces for as much as 2000 *livres*.[1]

I had the curiosity to investigate all that can be ascertained regarding *bezoar*, having already made several visits to GOLCONDA, which is the place where there is the most considerable sale of it, without being able to ascertain in what part of the body of the goat it is found. On my fifth journey some individuals who were in the services of the English and Dutch Companies, and who dared not trade on their own account, were indebted to me because I purchased about 60,000 rupees worth of *bezoar* for them. The merchants who sold it, wishing to show their acknowledgment, and to make me some present, I refused, and told them I had never taken anything from any one for a service which I was able to render. But I let them know that I would again be able to serve them in the approaching *monsoon*, and that they would oblige me also, on their part, if they would get three or four of these goats which produce the *bezoar* for me, promising to pay them for them whatsoever they were worth. The merchants appeared much surprised at this demand, and replied that the prohibition was so strict that if any one was found who dared to remove the goats out of the Province he would be executed without fail. I saw plainly that this request troubled them, for on the one side they feared punishment and on the other they were afraid lest I might prevent them from making another sale; this would have been a great loss to these poor people, who, whether they do or do not sell, are obliged to pay the King, for the farm, 6000 old *pagodas*, which

[1] £150.

amount to 45,000 *livres* of our money.[1] Fifteen days afterwards or thereabouts, not having thought anything further about them, three of them knocked at my door before daylight. As soon as they had entered my chamber, where I was still in bed, they asked me if all my servants were foreigners. As I had none from the town, and they were all either Persians or from SURAT, I told them they were all foreigners, upon which they withdrew without replying to me. Half an hour afterwards they returned with six of these goats, which I examined at my leisure. It should be said that they are beautiful animals, very tall, and having fine hair, like silk. As soon as the goats were safely in my hall, the eldest of the three merchants who had brought them, beginning to speak by paying me a compliment, told me that since I had not been willing to take the present which they wished to make me, for having procured the sale of so large a parcel of *bezoar*, at the least I would not refuse these six goats which they gave me with their whole hearts; but as I did not wish to take them entirely as a gift, as they desired, I asked what the value of them was; and, after having made great difficulty about telling me, I was at length much surprised and thought they were joking when they said that one of the goats which they pointed out was worth three rupees, that each of the two next were worth four rupees, and each of the three which remained four and a quarter rupees. Upon which I asked them why some of the goats were dearer than

[1] There may be some mistake here, as 6000 old *pagodas* are only equal to 45,000 *livres* when the *pagoda* is taken at 5 rupees, whereas Tavernier in general gives the old *pagoda* the value of only 4½ rupees, 45,000 *livres* = £3375.

others, and I learnt that it was because one had only one *bezoar* in the stomach, and the others had two or three or four of them; this they made me see for myself, forthwith, by tapping the belly, as I have above described. These six goats had 17 *bezoars*, and a half one, like the half of a nut. The inside was like the soft dropping of a goat, as these *bezoars* grow amongst the food in the belly of the goat. Some have told me that *bezoars* originate close to the liver, others maintain that it is close to the heart, but I was never able to ascertain the truth.[1]

Both in the East and West there are an abundance of *bezoars* obtained from cows, and there are some which weigh up to 17 or 18 ounces, such an one having been given to the Grand Duke of TUSCANY. But nothing is thought of this kind of *bezoar*, six grains of the other having a greater effect than thirty of it.

As for the *bezoar* obtained from monkeys, as some believe, it is so strong that two grains of it do as much as six from that of the goat; but it is very rare, and it is found particularly in the species of monkeys which live in the Island of MACASSAR. This kind of *bezoar* is round, while the other is of diverse forms, according to the forms of the buds and ends of branches which the goats have eaten. As these stones, which it is believed come from monkeys, are much rarer than the others, they are also much dearer and much more sought after; and when one is found of the size of a nut it is valued at more than 100 *écus*. The Portuguese, more than

[1] That Tavernier was not well versed in anatomy is sufficiently apparent from this passage, but at the period at which he wrote it, more than two centuries ago, such references to the heart and liver, and their communication with the stomach, would probably have passed without criticism.

other nations, attach great value to *bezoar*, because they are always on their guard, one against the other, fearing that an enemy may wish to poison them.[1]

There is still another much esteemed stone which is called the porcupine stone, which this animal has in its head, and is more efficacious against poison than *bezoar*. When one has placed it to steep in water for a quarter of an hour, the water becomes so bitter that there is nothing in the world to equal it in bitterness.[2] This animal has also sometimes, in its belly, a stone which is of the same nature and equally good as that which comes from the head, except with this difference, that it loses nothing of its weight or size by steeping in water, while there is diminution of the other. During my life I have bought three of these stones. One cost me 500 *écus*, and I disposed of it subsequently with advantage to the Ambassador DOMINICO DE SANTIS,[3] of whom I have spoken in my accounts of PERSIA. I paid 400 *écus* for another, which I still keep; and the

[1] Garcia de Orta, who devotes a chapter to *bezoar*, highly extols its merits as a medicine in cases of ague, measles, as an antidote to poison, and in the treatment of abscesses; he mentions that it was supposed, moreover, to possess aphrodisiac properties. It is not now believed to have any therapeutic value—to be, in fact, neutral.

[2] It seems probable that the substance supposed to be obtained in the head of the porcupine was a vegetable drug, to which that mythical origin was ascribed. Castanheda mentions a stone obtained in the head of an animal called *bulgoldorf*, which was exceedingly rare, and was said to be an antidote against all kinds of poison (*Kerr's Voyages and Travels*, vol. ii, p. 439). To test a *bezoar*, according to Fryer—(1) rub it on chalk, if it leave an olive colour it is good; (2) touch them with a hot iron, "and if they fry like wax they are naught;" (3) put them in water, if small white bubbles rise they are good, if not they are doubtful. (*Account*, Calcutta Edition, p. 469.)

[3] See *Persian Travels*, Book II, chap. v, p. 181. He was an ambassador from the Venetian Republic.

third was sold to me for 300 *écus*, and I made a present of it to a friend.

I shall finally make mention of the snake-stone, which is nearly of the size of a *double*,[1] some of them tending to an oval shape, being thick in the middle and becoming thin towards the edges. The Indians say that it grows on the heads of certain snakes, but I should rather believe that it is the priests of the idolaters who make them think so, and that this stone is a composition which is made of certain drugs.[2] Whatever it may be, it has an excellent virtue in extracting all the poison when one has been bitten by a poisonous animal. If the part bitten is not punctured it is necessary to make an incision so that the blood may flow; and when the stone has been applied to it, it does not fall off till it has extracted all the venom which is drawn to it. In order to clean it it is steeped in woman's milk, or, in default of it, in that of a cow; and after having been steeped for ten or twelve hours, the milk, which has absorbed all the venom, assumes the colour of matter. One day, when I dined with the Archbishop of Goa, he took me into his museum, where he had many curiosities. Among other things he showed me one of these stones, and in telling me of its properties assured me that it was but three days since he had made trial of it, after which he presented it to me. As

[1] *Doubloon?* A Spanish gold coin.

[2] Thevenot says that they were made of the ashes of the root of a certain plant, mixed with a particular kind of clay (*Voyage*, p. 94). Some snake-stones appear to have been made of charred bone. (See for for an exhaustive account of this subject Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary.*) The belief in their efficacy is still very general in India; by some they are supposed to be found in the head of the adjutant bird (see *Jungle Life in India*, p. 82).

he traversed a marsh on the island of SALSETTE, upon which GOA is situated, on his way to a house in the country, one of his *pallankeen* bearers, who was almost naked, was bitten by a serpent and was at once cured by this stone. I have bought many of them; it is only the *Brahmins* who sell them, and it is that which makes me think that they make them. You employ two methods to ascertain if the snake-stone is good, and that there is no fraud. The first is by placing the stone in the mouth, for then, if good, it leaps and attaches itself immediately to the palate. The other is to place it in a glass full of water, and immediately, if it is genuine, the water begins to boil, small bubbles ascending from the stone, which is at the bottom, to the top of the water.

There is still another stone which is called "stone of the hooded snake."[1] It is a kind of snake which has, as it were, a hood which hangs behind the head, and it is behind this hood that the stone is found, the smallest being of the size of a hen's egg. There are snakes in AFRICA and in ASIA of an enormous size,[2] and up to 25 feet in length, as was that one whose skin is preserved at BATAVIA. This snake had swallowed a girl of eighteen years, of which fact I have elsewhere given an account.[3] You only find these stones in snakes which are, at the least, two feet in length. The stone, which is not hard, when rubbed against another stone yields a kind of slime which, when dissolved in water and drunk by a person who

[1] Cobra di capello—*Naja tripudians*. The figure referred to is a spirited one of a cobra, but is not reproduced here.

[2] Pythons.

[3] I have not met this account to which the author refers, and don't know where he has related it.

has some poison in his body, has the property of driving it out at once. These snakes are only to be found on the coasts of MELINDA, and you can obtain the stones from Portuguese sailors and soldiers on their return from MOZAMBIQUE.

CHAPTER XXV

Concerning the places from whence gold is obtained in ASIA *and* AFRICA.

JAPAN consists of many islands to the east of CHINA trending northwards, some even believing that NIPHON, which is the largest of them, is, as it were, in contact with the mainland; it is the region of all ASIA which furnishes the greatest quantity of gold, but it is thought that the principal part of it comes from the island of FORMOSA, from whence it is carried to JAPAN. Since the Dutch have held FORMOSA they have been unable to develop the trade of the particular locality where they believe the gold to occur.[1]

Gold also comes from CHINA, and the Chinese exchange it for the silver taken to them, for, price for price, they prefer silver to gold, because they have no mines of silver. This gold is of one of the lowest standards of any found in ASIA.

[1] The occurrence of gold in China, Japan, and Formosa is not a subject that can be treated of exhaustively in these notes. That mines occur in China and Japan is well known, but I have not been able to find conclusive evidence with reference to Formosa. Ainslie (*Materia Medica*, vol. i, p. 516) quotes the *Asiatic Journal* for December 1824 in support of the statement that the island abounds in gold. From a cursory examination of Mr. Locke's great work on gold, it seems to contain no reference to Formosa.

The island of CELEBES or MACASSAR[1] also produces gold, which is obtained from the rivers, where it occurs mingled with the sand.

In the island of ACHIN or SUMATRA,[2] after the rainy season, and when the waters in the streams have subsided, veins of gold are found in the pebbles of different sizes which the rains have carried down from the mountains facing the north-east. On the west coast of the same island, where the Dutch go to ship pepper, the peasants bring an abundance of gold, but it is of very low standard, even inferior to the gold of CHINA.

Towards THIBET, which is identical with the CAUCASUS of the Ancients, in the territories of a *Raja* beyond the Kingdom of KASHMIR, there are three mountains close to one another, one of which produces gold of excellent quality, another *grenat*, and another *lapis*.[3]

[1] Gold occurs in the rivers of the northern and south-western peninsulas of Celebes. (Crawfurd, *Dictionary*.)

[2] According to Crawfurd a small gold coin called *mas* (worth 1s. 2d.) from the Malay name of the metal, has been coined at Achin. Gold dust, however, was the common medium of exchange. The Achinese have learnt the use of the touchstone from Telugu settlers. The gold filigree work of the Malays of Sumatra is very beautiful. A total of £1,000,000 worth of gold was considered by Crawfurd to cover the annual yield of all the Malayan islands in 1856.

[3] This indication as to the three mountains is somewhat vague. In all probability the *grenat* mine may be identified with the ruby, or rather spinelle mine, which is situated on the banks of the Shignán, a tributary of the Oxus in Badakshán. As pointed out in vol. i, p. 382 *n*, the name *balas* was derived from this locality. The *lapis* mine is near Firgámu, also in Badakshán, Lat. 36° 10′ Long. 71°. The Thibet gold mines, famous since the days of Herodotus, are somewhat numerous. Each of these localities will be found described in the *Economic Geology of India*, pp. 213, 430, 529, where, also, an explanation of the myth of the gold-digging ants is suggested.

Finally, gold comes from the kingdom of TIPPERAH,[1] of which I shall give a description in the following Book, but this gold is of bad quality, being of about the same standard as the gold of CHINA.

These are all the places in ASIA[2] from whence gold comes, and I shall now say something of the gold of AFRICA, and of the region where it is obtained in greatest abundance.[3]

It should be remarked, under this head, that the governor of MOZAMBIQUE has subject to him the commanders of SOFALA[4] and of SHUPANGA.[5] The first of these two small governments is on the river SENA 60 leagues from its mouth, and the other is 10 leagues higher up. From the mouth of the river up to these places on both sides there are many settlements of negroes, each of which is commanded by a Portuguese. These Portuguese have for a long time been masters

[1] Tipra in the original. I do not know of any evidence for the occurrence of gold in Tipperah; possibly what was brought from thence in Tavernier's time was received from Assam, China, or Burmah, in exchange for other commodities. Our Author devotes chap. xvi of Book III to a description of the Kingdom, which see.

[2] It is strange that Tavernier should have been unaware of the occurrence of gold in any part of the Indian Peninsula, there being so many localities where it is obtained, some of which were most probably worked in his time. (*Vide* for distribution of gold *Economic Geology of India*, chap. "Gold.")

[3] Of the existence of gold in Eastern Africa there is abundant evidence. Of that which reaches the coast, however, a large proportion probably comes from far off in the interior.

[4] The position ascribed to Sofala is incorrect, as it was not on the river named, but some two degrees, or say 70 leagues, to the south of the Delta of the Zambesi, on which the town of Sena is situated. A very interesting collection of notices referring to Sofala and its gold is given in Yule-Burnell's *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.

[5] Chepongoura in the original. The modern Shupanga on the Zambesi is probably Tavernier's Chepongoura; it is between Sena and the coast.

of the country, and act like petty princes, making war against one another on the smallest pretext, there being some among them who have as many as 5000 Cafres, who are their slaves. The Governor of MOZAMBIQUE, to whom these petty princes are subject, furnishes them with cloth and other necessary goods, each of which he sells according to its market value. When the Governor of MOZAMBIQUE[1] leaves GOA to assume possession of his government, which is the best of those subject to the Viceroy, he takes with him a great quantity of goods, and especially calicoes dyed black. His correspondents at GOA also send him every year two vessels laden with the same goods, which he forwards to SOFALA and SHUPANGA, and up to the town of MONOMOTAPA,[2] capital of a Kingdom of the same name, otherwise called VOUBEBARAN—the town being about 150 leagues distant from SHUPANGA. The ruler of all this country takes the name of Emperor of MONOMOTAPA, and his authority extends up to the confines of PRESTE JAN.[3] It is from these territories of MONOMOTAPA whence the purest and finest AFRICAN gold comes, and it is extracted without great difficulty by excavating in the ground to a depth of only 2 or 3 feet. In certain places in this country which are not inhabited, because there is no water there, gold is

[1] Castanheda says that the Moors took from India to Mozambique "silver, linen cloth, pepper, ginger, silver rings, many pearls and rubies, and from a country inland they procured gold. He also states that much gold was brought from the interior to Sofala. (See Kerr's *Voyages and Travels*, vol. ii, pp. 317 and 427.)

[2] Matabele? The name is spelt Monomopata and Monomotapa in the original.

[3] *I.e.* Abyssinia. The name Prester John was given to the ruling monarch by the Portuguese. (See note by Rev. Percy Badger in *Varthema, Hakluyt Society*, p. 63.)

found on the surface of the ground in nuggets of all kinds of shapes and weights, and there are some of these nuggets which weigh an ounce. I have had, as curiosities, some pieces which I have presented to my friends, and some of them weighed as much as 2 ounces. I still have one weighing an ounce and a half or thereabouts. When at SURAT with M. D'ARDILIÉRE,[1] son of M. DU JARDIN, of whom I have made mention in my account of PERSIA, an Ambassador from the King of ABYSSINIA arrived, whom we went to salute. I presented him with a pair of pocket pistols decorated with silver, and having invited us to dine with him he showed us the presents which he was carrying to the GREAT MOGUL on behalf of the King, his master. They consisted of fourteen beautiful horses, which were all that remained out of thirty he had taken from his country, the others having died in the vessel

[1] The references to M. du Jardin and his son are very perplexing. In the *Persian Travels*, Book II, chap. vi, Tavernier says he started on his fourth journey from Paris with M. Ardiliére, son of M. du Jardin. When landing at Masulipatam he refers to his companion as M. Louis du Jardin (Book I, chap. xvii). He again mentions him as being with him at Madras (Book I, chap. xviii), and in chap. xix he records his death in the year 1852. In Book III, chap. xiv, he speaks of being in M. d'Ardiliére's company on the road from Golconda to Surat in the year 1653. From all of which it would seem to be the legitimate conclusion that both father and son travelled with him in India, as is suggested on pp. 336 and 690. However, it is due to M. Joret to say that he may be right in treating these notices as all referring to the same person, and consequently the date 1653 must be wrong, if he died in 1652. But it should be added that this present notice seems to contradict that view, as M. du Jardin died within a few days of their arrival at Surat. Fryer in 1671 mentions M. Jordan (? Jardin) as having, with M. Rezin, succeeded Tavernier in the trade of carrying diamonds to and from Europe. (See his *Account*, Calcutta Edition, p. 276.)

when crossing the sea from MOCHA to SURAT. Also à number of young slaves of both sexes; and finally, this being the most important and worthy to be admired, there was a tree of gold 2 feet 4 inches high, and about 5 or 6 inches round the stem.[1] It had ten or twelve branches, some of which were nearly half a foot long and an inch broad, others being smaller. In some parts of the large branches there was to be seen some roughness, which in a manner resembled buds. The roots of this tree which had been thus naturally formed, were small and short, the longest not being more than 4 or 5 inches.

The people of this Kingdom of MONOMOTAPA, knowing the time that the calicoes and other goods arrive at SOFALA and SHUPANGA, come punctually to provide themselves with what they require. Numerous Cafres from other Kingdoms and Provinces also come, and the Governors of these two towns sell them calicoes and other things of which they have need, trusting for the payment which they undertake to make the following year by bringing gold, to the amount agreed upon, for if the Governor did not trust them thus there would be no trade between the Portuguese and the Cafres. It is almost the same with the Ethiopians who every year carry gold to CAIRO, of which I have spoken in my account of the *Seraglio* of the GRAND SEIGNEUR. These people of MONOMOTAPA do not live a long time on account of the bad water in their country. At the age of twenty-five years they begin to be dropsical, so that it is considered a marvel when they exceed forty years in age. The Province where the river SENA

[1] This description suggests a manufactured article, but it is possible that it was really, as Tavernier supposed, a natural arborescent nugget.

rises is called MOUKARAN,[1] and belongs to another King, commencing at 100 leagues or thereabouts above SHUPANGA. The people of this Province find much gold dust in several rivers which join the SENA; but this gold is inferior to the other kind, and it is also taken to SHUPANGA and SOFALA. The country is very healthy, and the inhabitants live as long as those of EUROPE. In certain years Cafres arrive there from much farther than the Province of MOUKARAN, and even from the neighbourhood of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. The Portuguese know of the country and its name, but have not induced the Cafres to reveal more than that their country, called SABIA,[2] is governed by a King, and that they generally spend four months on the road to SOFALA. The gold which they bring is excellent, and is in nuggets, like that of MONOMOTAPA; they say that they find it on high mountains, where they only have to excavate the ground for it to the depth of 10 or 12 feet. They also bring an abundance of elephants' tusks, and say that there are so many elephants in the country that they are to be seen in troops in the fields, and that all the palisades of the fortresses and parks are made of elephants' tusks; this I have also observed elsewhere.[3] The ordinary food of these Cafres is the flesh of this animal, and four of them, with their assegais,[4] which are a kind of short

[1] Moukaran—not identified.

[2] Perhaps some mistake here. There is a Sabia river marked on the map as coming next to Sofala on the south.

[3] See vol. i, p. 277.

[4] *Ageagayes* in the original, for Assegais, the well-known hurling spears used in Africa. The word is from the Berber *zaghâya*, with the Arabic article prefixed. It occurs commonly in travellers' accounts of other countries besides those included in Africa. (See Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 28.)

pike, are able to bring an elephant to the ground and kill it. All the water in their country is very bad, which is the reason why they have swollen legs, and it is a marvel when any one is exempt.

Above SOFALA there is a country commanded by a King called the King of BAROÉ. In some part of his country there grows a root which is an inch thick, and of a yellow colour. It cures all kinds of fever by causing vomiting; but as very little of it is found the King forbids, under severe penalty, any of it to be carried out of his Kingdom. While DOM PHILIPPE DE MASCAREHNAS was Viceroy of GOA the King of BAROÉ sent him a piece of this root[1] about 3 feet long, garnished with gold at both ends, and with rings of gold in the middle. The Viceroy having received it made great account of it, and causing it to be cut up into several pieces presented them to certain of his friends. He sent two to SURAT to Mr. FREMLIN, the English President, who showed them to me, and having placed a piece of the root on my tongue I found the taste very bitter.

As for silver mines, there are none in the whole of ASIA,[2] save only in the Kingdom of JAPAN. Some years ago very rich mines of tin were discovered at DELEGORE, SANGORE, BORDELON, and BATA;[3]

[1] I have not been able to identify with certainty either *Baroé* or the bitter root which it produces.

[2] Tavernier is here in error, as there are undoubted sources of silver in India and on the confines of Assam and Burma, which have been largely worked. This common mistake is repeated in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. vi, p. 624. (See *Economic Geology of India*, chap. iv, "Silver.") Silver certainly occurs also in other parts of Asia. (See Book III, chap. xv.)

[3] Delli (?), Salangor, Billiton, and Banka (?). The three last are well-known centres of the tin industry.

this has done some injury to the English, because there is no longer need of their tin as formerly, sufficient being now produced in ASIA. Tin is only used in this country to tin cooking-pots, kettles, and other copper utensils.

CHAPTER XXVI

Account of a notable act of perfidy done to the author when he was about to embark at GOMBROON *for* SURAT.

IN the month of April 1665, being about to leave GOMBROON, and when on the point of embarkation for SURAT in a vessel which belonged to the broker of the Dutch Company, and was commanded by Captain HANS—the Agent of the English gave me a packet of letters, which had arrived by express from ENGLAND, to deliver to the President of SURAT. This packet was very large, because, besides the Company's letters, he had included in it those which were for private persons in SURAT and other parts of INDIA. I received the packet from him, on the evening of my embarkation, in presence of M. CASEMBROT, a Dutchman, who had come to PERSIA by land, and was related to M. HENRY VAN WÜCK, Commander at GOMBROON. CASEMBROT managed to accompany me on all occasions when I went to see the English Agent, and VAN WÜCK asked me at each visit which I paid him, whether the Agent had not entrusted me with letters for SURAT. I replied ingenuously that he had told me that he would give me some, without suspecting anything of the evil intention of both of these two men. Their object, as

appeared subsequently, was to obtain possession of this packet in consequence of the rumour which was in circulation of a rupture between ENGLAND and HOLLAND, and because they thought that the English had received definite news of it, as some days previously an Arab had arrived by the desert route and had brought a packet to the English Agent; this caused the Commander VAN WÜCK much anxiety.

As soon as I had received the packet from the Agent, CASEMBROT, who was always on the watch, and looked on, as it was put into my hands, reported it to VAN WÜCK, and told him of its form and size; and I, after having pledged the Agent in a glass of wine which he offered me when wishing me a good passage, went to take leave of VAN WÜCK, who would not allow me to go till after I had supped with him. He kept me, as it were by force, in order to have more time to accomplish his *coup;* and excusing himself for being unable to accompany me on account of the arrival of three vessels which cast anchor while we were at table, he lent me his own boat to go on board, together with four or five of the principal officers of his staff, whom he sent with me, under pretext of escorting me, and with them the captain of the vessel also, to whom he gave the word. As soon as we were on board the captain offered me his own cabin, where he had already directed my bed to be placed by my servants, who had been on board for two days before, and on my making a difficulty about accepting it, he told me that the Commander had ordered him to do so, to which I replied that I would not accept his cabin. except on the condition that I should only occupy half of it, while he took the other. This having been

arranged, I drew the packet of English letters from the pocket of my greatcoat, and giving it to one of my servants to place in my *bouccha*,[1] which is the valise of these countries, he put the *bouccha* between the side of the vessel and the head of my bed. There had come with us to the ship two small boats, which contained more than sixty bags of silver, some of 50 and others of 100 *tomans*,[2] all the bags being made in PERSIA in that manner. Immediately the boats were alongside, [the crew] commenced to hoist the bags, one after the other, into the vessel, but did so very slowly, with the object of delaying us the whole night, and to compel me to go to bed. But as they observed that I was unwilling to retire, the captain, the pilot, and the Company's Broker, to whom, as I have said, the vessel belonged, consulted with the Dutch, and all together conspired to let a bag of 100 *tomans* fall into the sea when hoisting it into the vessel; this was done in order to have time to accomplish their design. As soon as the bag fell into the sea they sent a boat to GOMBROON to fetch a diver, who reached the vessel by daybreak, in order to dive for the sack. Seeing then that the vessel could not leave before the following day at two or three o'clock, I went to lie down, my *bouccha* being all the time in the same place, half under the head of my bed and half outside. My servants went to rest in the gunner's cabin, and while I slept alone in that of the captain my *bouccha* was quietly drawn out, and from it the packet of letters

[1] I must relinquish it to some one else to discuss the etymology of this word. It has been suggested to me that it may be connected with the Persian *posá*, a covering.

[2] *Toman* (see vol. i, Appendix).

was taken, another well sealed and of similar form and size, which only contained white paper, being put in its place. The bag which they had purposely allowed to fall into the sea in order to accomplish this wicked *coup*, having been pulled up, we made sail, and arrived at the port of SURAT on the 5th of May of the same year. The Dutch Commander having done me the honour to send a barque 2 or 3 leagues out to sea to fetch me, immediately when I landed, which was about midnight, I desired before all things to pay my respects to him, asking two Capuchin Fathers, who were at the port at our debarkation, to deliver to the English President the packet which I had taken out of my *bouccha*, this service they willingly undertook. But they told me that, as it was an unseasonable hour, and that the President, who was gouty, might be then asleep, they, not considering it proper to awake him, would wait till the morrow to accompany me, when I should be able to deliver the packet to the President myself. But the gout from which he suffered not permitting him to sleep much, it was delivered to him the same hour. The President having opened the packet in presence of the chief officers of his staff, they only found white paper folded like letters inside it. This having been reported to me, I realised at once the bad turn which VAN WÜCK and his accomplices had played me. What confirmed me further as to this perfidy was, that on going to examine my *bouccha* I found that a jewel which I had tried to sell to the Governor of GOMBROON had also disappeared. Not having been able to agree with him as to the price, he returned it to me some hours before I embarked for SURAT, and I had placed it in

haste with the packet of letters in my *bouccha*, where I did not find it on arrival at SURAT.

Nevertheless the theft of this packet of letters, which had been thus accomplished, incensed the President against me so much that he refused to allow me to justify myself, and I was moreover an object for the rage of many private Englishmen affected by the loss of the letters in the packet, which were addressed to them. They went so far on different occasions as to attempt my life, as I am able to prove by the evidence and affidavits of many men of honour, and particularly of M. HARTMAN, who was then the second officer in the factory at SURAT. So, to protect myself from snares which were set for me, I was obliged to be constantly accompanied by many people, and I was even unable to go to GOLCONDA, where there is a great trade in diamonds, having been warned by my friends that ten or twelve English awaited me in that part of the world in order to do me some injury. The treachery which was thus done to me disturbed all my plans and caused me considerable loss; besides which I was obliged to carry back to PERSIA a large sum of money, in consequence of my not being able to invest it in INDIA.

This is a copy of the letter which I sent on this subject to BATAVIA, to the General of the Dutch Company and the members of his Council, dated SURAT, the 16th May 1665.

"GENTLEMEN—I take the liberty to write to you these lines in order to testify the displeasure I have experienced at the affront done me by Commander HENRI VAN WÜCK at GOMBROON, who, notwithstanding the letters of recommendation which I had from the

Ambassador to the States, an Officer of my King, addressed, one to the Chief Officer of the Company at ISPAHAN, another to the Commander at GOMBROON, and a third to the Commander in this town of SURAT, asking all three to assist me as much as possible, except in so far as the Company was interested. . But M. HENRI VAN WÜCK has disregarded his, and has done me the most signal affront that a man of honour, as I am, who am an Officer of his Royal Highness, the brother of my King, could ever receive, which was to have my baggage opened, where there were many jewels, some of which have been lost, and to have ordered a large packet of letters to be taken which the Agent of the English at GOMBROON entrusted to me to deliver to the President of the English in this town of SURAT, having had another packet containing blank paper placed in its stead. I leave you to reflect as to what kind of esteem the President and all the English hold me in at present, and whether I have not good cause for making my complaints and asking justice from you. And, if it should please you gentlemen to send me permission to wait upon you at BATAVIA, in order to testify, by word of mouth, the displeasure which I feel on account of this which M. VAN WÜCK has done me in order to accomplish a crime of this nature, and to inform you in detail of the manner in which all this affair has happened, you would oblige me much. At the least, I ask you to give me some satisfaction in respect to the author of the theft, in default of which I shall not fail, as soon as I have, by the grace of God, returned to FRANCE, to make my complaints through the King my master, who has honoured me with his protection,

and through his Royal Highness, his only brother, to MM. the States, and from their Ambassador, to obtain satisfaction, at whatever cost, of the said VAN WÜCK, and by this means establish my honour. Moreover, if I return by ISPAHAN, I shall not omit to inform the King of PERSIA of it, and shall tell him, after so much honour as his Majesty has done me, and notwithstanding all the passports which I have held from him, that the said M. VAN WÜCK has treated me in this fashion. I believe also that his Majesty will not be pleased to hear that all the patterns of jewels, which I was to buy and have made for him both in INDIA and EUROPE, were lost when the packet of letters was stolen. I can also advise him of the plots and conspiracies which M. VAN WÜCK has had at GOMBROON with a Prince, an enemy of PERSIA, who came to the said place in disguise. Finally, I know enough to make him receive an equal or greater affront than he has done me; and by his receiving it the Company will receive it also. This, gentlemen, is what I am resolved upon if you do not decide to give me complete satisfaction, though I believe I shall not have that trouble. Hoping that you will not omit to do me justice before I leave this country to return to EUROPE, where as in all other places I shall always be, Gentlemen, your very humble, etc."

It is rare to see treason unpunished, and the principal actors in this plot all had miserable ends.

In the following monsoon the vessels which arrived from SURAT at GOMBROON spread in that region the tidings of the black villany which had been done me; and a short time after, M. VAN WÜCK having been attacked by a kind of fever, and the Rev. Father

BALTHASAR, Carmelite Monk, going to see him, sought to get him to speak of this affair with which he was so prominently mixed up. But he defended himself of the charge strongly, and making use of an equivocation, said, that if it was true that he had taken the letters, he wished to die without speaking, and not to live three days. He had not in truth committed the theft, but he had arranged for its being done; and he died at the end of three days, and without speaking. His Lieutenant, named BOZAN, one of those whom he had sent to escort me to the vessel, and who apparently had opened the *bouccha* and committed the theft, after a great debauch, having lain down on the terrace of the house to sleep in the fresh air, as these terraces have neither parapet nor anything to prevent a fall, on moving and rolling in his sleep, fell over, and on the following day was found dead on the seashore. As for the Captain of the vessel, who was also in the plot, four or five days after his arrival at SURAT, as he pursued his way, a Muhammadan, jealous of his wife, whom he had beaten, and excited to rage against some *Franks* who separated them, believing this Captain, whom he found alone, was of the band, stabbed him five or six times with a dagger, upon which he fell dead on the ground. Such were the miserable ends of all these people.

BOOK III

Concerning the religion of the Muhammadans and that of the Idolaters of India: the voyage of the Author by sea from SURAT to BATAVIA, and from BATAVIA to HOLLAND; and of many peculiarities in different Kingdoms of the East.

CHAPTER I

Concerning the religion of the Muhammadans in the EAST INDIES.

THE diversity which is found among the Muhammadans does not only consist in the different explanations which they give to their *Koran*,[1] but also in the different opinions which they have of the first successors of MUHAMMAD. It is from this that two sects, entirely opposed to one another, have sprung; the one calling itself the *Sunnis* is followed by the Turks, the other the *Shias*,[2] which is the sect of the Persians. I shall not delay here to say more as to the difference between these two sects, which divide the Muhammadan world; having spoken sufficiently of them in my accounts of PERSIA, and I shall only describe the present condition of this false religion, both in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL and in the Kingdoms of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR.

At the first establishment of Muhammadanism in

[1] *Alcoran* in the original.

[2] *Sounnis* and *Chias* in the original, and *Sunnis* and *Schiais* in the *Persian Travels*, Book IV, chap. vii. The former revere the direct successors of Muhammad, and the latter maintain that Ali and his sons Hosen and Hosain are the true successors to the caliphate. Sunnis predominate in the Muhammadan population of India, but there are also many Shias there, some of them being descendants of Persian immigrants.

INDIA the Christians[1] of the East were very ostentatious but not very devout, and the Idolaters were effeminate people who were unable to make much resistance. Thus it was easy for the Muhammadans to subject both by force of arms. This they did with so much success that many Christians and Idolaters embraced the law of MUHAMMAD.

The GREAT MOGUL with all his Court followed the sect of the *Sunnis*, the King of GOLCONDA that of the *Shias*, and the King of BIJAPUR had in his territories both *Sunnis* and *Shias*. The same might also be said of the Court of the GREAT MOGUL, on account of the number of Persians who came to serve in his armies. It is true that although they regarded the *Sunnis* with horror they nevertheless follow, in outward show, the religion of the Monarch, believing that to make or secure their fortune they might conceal their true belief, and that it sufficed for them to cherish it in their hearts.

As for the Kingdom of GOLCONDA, KUTAB SHÁH, who reigns at present, maintains with great zeal the law of the *Shias*, and as the nobles of his Court are nearly all Persians, they observe the customs of the sect of the *Shias* with the same strictness and the same freedom from restraint as in Persia.

I have elsewhere remarked that of the native Muhammadan subjects of the GREAT MOGUL there are but few in positions of command; this is the cause why many Persians, oppressed by want, or ambitious of better fortune than that which they can hope for in

[1] M. Thevenot states that about the year 1665 some believed that there were 25,000 families of Christians in Agra, but all were not agreed as to this estimate (*Voyage des Indes*, p. 102). Colonel Sleeman, who refers to this, adds that he himself came upon a colony of 2000 in the year 1814 in Betiah in Tirhut (*Rambles and Recollections*, etc., 1844, p. 15).

their own country, go to seek for it in INDIA. Being clever they are successful in finding means to advance themselves in (the profession of) arms, so that in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, as well as in the Kingdoms of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR, the Persians are in possession of the highest posts.

AURANGZEB, especially, shows great zeal for the *Sunni* sect, of which he is so faithful a follower that he surpasses all his predecessors in external observation of the law, which has been the veil by means of which he has concealed his usurpation of the kingdom. When he took possession of the throne he proclaimed that it was with the design of insisting upon the law of MUHAMMAD being observed in all its strictness, as it had been relaxed during the reigns of SHÁH JAHÁN his father and JAHÁNGIR his grandfather. To show himself still more zealous for the law he became a *Dervish* or *Fakir*, *i.e.* a professional beggar, and under this false mantle of piety made his way cleverly to the Empire. Although he had, as I have said, numerous Persians in his service, he did not allow them to celebrate the festival of HOSEN and HOSAIN,[1] sons of ALI, who were killed by the *Sunnis*, as I have mentioned in my accounts of PERSIA; and they themselves, to please the King and advance their own fortunes, made no scruple about conforming themselves externally to the cult and customs of the *Sunnis*.

[1] *Hosen* and *Heussin* in the original.

CHAPTER II

Concerning Fakirs or Muhammadan beggars in the East Indies.

It is estimated that there are in India 800,000 Muhammadan *Fakirs*, and 1,200,000 among the idolaters, which is an enormous number. They are all vagabonds and idlers, who blind the eyes of the people by a false zeal, and lead them to believe that all that escapes from their own mouths is oracular.

There are different kinds of these Muhammadan *Fakirs;* some are almost naked, like the *Fakirs* of the idolaters, who have no regular dwellings, and abandon themselves to all kinds of impurity without any shame. They persuade simple souls that they possess a privilege to do all kinds of evil without sin.

There are other *Fakirs* who are clad in garments of so many pieces of different colours that one is unable to say what they are. These robes extend half way down their legs and conceal the miserable rags which are beneath. These *Fakirs* generally travel in company, and have a chief or superior over them who is distinguished by his garment, which is poorer and made up of more pieces than those of the others. He, moreover, drags a heavy iron chain which he has attached to one leg; it is 2 cubits long and thick in

proportion. When he prays it is with great noise, which he makes with this chain and a loud voice; this is accompanied by an affected gravity, which attracts the veneration of the people. However, the people bring him and his followers food to eat, which they serve him in the place where he stops, generally some street or public place. He has carpets spread by his disciples, and seats himself on them in order to give audience to those who wish to consult him. On the other hand, his disciples proclaim throughout the country the great virtues of their master and the favours which he receives from God, who reveals to him the most important secrets, and confers upon him the power to aid afflicted persons with good advice. The people give him easy credence, and regard him as a holy man, and come to him with great devotion, and when one of them approaches close to him, he takes the shoes from off his feet and prostrates himself before the *Fakir* in order to kiss his feet. Then the *Fakir*, in order to appear humble, extends his arm and gives his hand to be kissed, after which he makes those who come to consult him, sit near him, and he listens to each in turn. He boasts of possessing a prophetic spirit, especially for indicating to women who are sterile the way in which they may obtain children, and how to constrain any one they wish to manifest love for them.

There are *Fakirs* who have more than 200 disciples, whom they assemble by the sound of the drum and a horn similar to the horns of our huntsmen. When marching, the disciples carry their standard, lances, and other arms, which they stick in the ground near their master when he halts to rest anywhere.

The third kind of these *Fakirs* of the EAST INDIES consists of those who, being born of poor parents, and wishing to know the law thoroughly, in order to become *Mullás* or doctors, take up their abode in mosques, where they live on whatever charity is bestowed upon them. They occupy their time in reading the *Koran*, which they learn by heart, and when they are able to add to this study some little knowledge of natural things, with the example of a good life, according to their ideas, they become heads of mosques, and reach the dignity of *Mullás* and judges of the law. These *Fakirs* have wives, and some, through piety and the great desire they have to imitate MUHAMMAD, have three or four of them, believing that thereby they do God a great service, by being fathers of many children who will follow the law of their Prophet.

CHAPTER III

Of the Religion of the Gentiles or Idolaters of INDIA.

THE idolaters of INDIA are so numerous that for one Muhammadan there are five or six Gentiles. It is astonishing to see how this enormous multitude of men has allowed itself to be subjected by so small a number of persons, and has bent readily under the yoke of the Muhammadan Princes. But the astonishment ceases when one considers that these idolaters have no union among themselves, and that superstition has introduced so strange a diversity of opinions and customs that they never agree with one another.[1] An idolater will not eat bread nor drink water in a house belonging to any one of a different caste from his own, unless it is more noble and more exalted than his own; thus they can all eat and drink in the houses of the *Brahmins*,[2] which are open to all the world. A caste is, so to speak, among these idolaters that which formerly a tribe was among the Jews, and

[1] This has ever been the strength of those who have conquered India.

[2] *Bramines* in the original. Brahmins' houses are certainly not now open to all the world, the very reverse is the case. The accuracy of this statement, even in Tavernier's time, may be doubted. True as it is that a man of lower caste may eat from the hand of a Brahmin, a Brahmin has, himself, to guard against defilement by contact with men of lower caste.

although it is commonly believed that there are seventy-two of these castes, I have ascertained from the most accomplished of their priests that they are able to reduce them to four principal (castes), from which all others derive their origin.

The first caste is that of the *Brahmins*, who are the successors of the ancient *Brachmanes* or philosophers of INDIA, who specially studied astrology. There are still to be found their ancient books, in the reading of which the *Brahmins* generally occupy themselves, and they are so skilled in their observations that they do not make a mistake of a minute in foretelling the eclipses of the sun and moon. And in order that they may preserve this science among them, they have a kind of university in a town called BENARES,[1] where they principally study astrology, and where they also have doctors who teach the law, which is followed with very great strictness. This caste is the most noble of all, because it is from among the *Brahmins* that the priests and ministers of the law are selected. But as they are very numerous and cannot all study in their university, the majority are ignorant and consequently very superstitious, those among them who pass as the most intellectual being the most arrant sorcerers.

The second caste is that of the *Rajputs* or *Ketris*, *i.e.* warriors and soldiers. These are the only idolaters who are brave, and distinguish themselves in the profession of arms. All the *Rajas*, of whom I have often spoken, are of this caste. They are like so many petty kings, whose disunion has made them tributaries to the GREAT MOGUL; but as the majority are in his service, they are highly recompensed for the small

[1] *Benares* in the original, elsewhere written *Benarow* or *Banarous*.

tribute which they pay him by the large and honourable salaries which they receive from him. These *Rajas*, and the *Rajputs* their subjects, are the most firm supports of the GREAT MOGUL'S kingdom; and it was the *Rajas* JÁISINGH and JESWANTSINGH who placed AURANGZEB on the throne. But it should be remarked that this second caste does not altogether consist of people who follow arms (as a profession). It is the *Rajputs*, alone, who go to war, and who are all cavaliers; but as for the *Ketris* they have degenerated from the bravery of their ancestors, and have quitted arms for merchandise.

The third caste is that of the *Banians*,[1] who attach themselves to trade, some being *Shroffs*, *i.e.* money-changers or bankers, and the others brokers, by whose agency the merchants buy and sell. The members of this caste are so subtle and skilful in trade that, as I have elsewhere said,[2] they could give lessons to the most cunning Jews. They accustom their children at an early age to shun slothfulness, and instead of letting them go into the streets to lose their time at play, as we generally allow ours, teach them arithmetic, which they learn perfectly, using for

[1] Tavernier spells this word *Baniane*, which has been altered in the text to Banian. It is otherwise, and perhaps more properly, spelt Banyan. It signifies a trader or merchant, especially in Gujarát. In Calcutta it is a title still used for the native brokers attached to houses of business. It is derived from *Vániya* (Gujaráti *Vániyo*), and that from the Sanskrit *Vánij*, a trader. Our author's testimony as to the astuteness of the men of this caste is borne out by many authors, notably P. F. Vincenzo de Maria, who says to make one it takes three Chinese, and three Hebrews to make a Chinese, therefore a Banian ought to possess the subtlety of nine Jews. (See "Banyan" in Yule and Burnell's *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 48.)

[2] See Book I, chap. ii, p. 29.

it neither pen nor counters, but the memory alone, so that in a moment they will do a sum, however difficult it may be. They are always with their fathers, who instruct them in trade, and do nothing without explaining it to them at the same time. These are the figures which they use in their books, both in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, as well as in other parts of INDIA,[1] although the language may be different. If any one gets in a rage with them they listen with patience, without replying anything, and they withdraw coldly, not returning to see him for four or five days, when they believe his rage to be over. They never eat anything which has had sentient life, and they would rather die than slay the least animal, not even excepting an insect or vermin, being in this respect very zealous observers of their law. It is sufficient to add that they never strike one another, and that they never go to war, and cannot eat or drink in the houses of the *Rajputs*, because they slay animals and eat meat, with the exception of that of the cow, which is never eaten.

The fourth caste is called *Charados* or *Soudra*.[2] Like that of the *Rajputs*, it occupies itself with war; but with this difference, that the *Rajputs* serve on horse, and the *Sudras* on foot. Both glory in dying in battle, and a soldier, whether of the cavalry or foot, is esteemed for ever infamous if, in the moment of combat, he runs away. It is an eternal disgrace in his family, and in this connection I shall relate a story which was told me in the country. A soldier who loved his wife passionately, and by whom he was

[1] These figures are not reproduced here.

[2] More properly *Sudras*, from the Sanskrit *Sudr*.

equally beloved in return, fled from combat, not out of fear of death, but simply on account of his wife's sorrow should she find herself a widow. When she heard the cause of his flight, as she saw him approach the house she closed the door, and told him she was unable to recognise as a husband a man who had preferred the love of a woman to honour; that she did not wish to see him any more, in order not to leave a blot on the reputation of her family, and to teach her children to have more courage than their father. This woman remained firm in her resolution. The husband, to regain his reputation and his love, returned to the army, where he performed noble actions which redounded to his credit, and having splendidly repaired his fault, the door of his house was opened to him, and his wife received him with pleasure.[1]

The remainder of the people, who do not belong to either of these four castes, are called *Pauzecour*.[2] They all occupy themselves with mechanical arts, and do not differ from one another except by the different trades which they follow from father to son; so that a tailor, although he may be rich, is unable to push his children, except in his own calling, nor to marry them, be it a son or a daughter, to others than those of his trade. So also when a tailor dies all those of his calling go to the place where his body is burnt,

[1] Sleeman tells a similar story about Jeswantsingh, who was so treated by his wife on his return from the battle of the 17th April 1658. (*Rambles and Recollections*, vol. i.)

[2] *Pauzecour*, as here used, appears to be a synonym of *Pariah*, a name applied to people of the lowest caste of Hindus in Southern India. It is pointed out in the *Anglo-Indian Glossary* that the *Pariahs* are not outcasts, as is commonly supposed. Possibly, however, the word Tavernier got hold of was *Phánsigár*, a synonym for *Thug;* if so, he defines it incorrectly.

and the same custom is observed among all the other artisans.

Among the particular castes there is one that is called *Halál'khors*,[1] who only engage in cleaning houses, each house paying them something monthly, according to its size. If a man of quality in INDIA, whether a Muhammadan or an idolater, has fifty servants, not one of them will be willing to use a broom to clean the house, for he would consider himself contaminated by it, and one of the greatest insults that one can do to a man in INDIA is to call him *Halál'khor*. It is proper to remark here that each of these servants having his own special duty, the one to carry the vessel of water for drinking by the way, another to have the pipe of tobacco ready — if the master asks one to perform the service for which the other is employed, that service will not be performed, and the servant remains as though he were immovable. As for slaves, they have to do whatever their master orders them. As this caste of *Halál'khors* is only occupied in removing the refuse from houses, it gets the remains of what the others eat, of whatever caste they may be, and it does not make any scruple about eating indifferently of all things. It is the people belonging to this caste, alone, who make use of asses, to carry the sweepings from the houses to the fields; while all other Indians will not touch this animal. It is otherwise in PERSIA, where asses are used both for baggage and for riding. It is also the *Halál khors* in INDIA who alone feed pigs and use them for food.

[1] *Alacors* in the original. The name *Halál'khor* signifies an eater of lawful food, euphemistically applied to the Sweepers, to whom all things are lawful. (Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.)

CHAPTER IV

Concerning the idolatrous Kings and Princes of ASIA.

IT is necessary to place in the front rank of the idolatrous Kings of ASIA, the King of ARAKAN, the King of PEGU, the King of SIAM, the King of COCHIN-CHINA, the King of TONQUIN, and, as for the King of CHINA, we know that he was an idolater before the irruption of the Tartars into his territories; but since that time one can say nothing certain about him, because these Tartars, who are now the masters of the country, are neither idolaters nor Muhammadans, being, rather, both combined. In the principal islands, firstly, the King of JAPAN, next the King of CEYLON, and some small Kings of the islands of the MOLUCCAS, and, finally, all the *Rajas*, both of the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL and of the neighbourhoods of the Kingdoms of BIJAPUR and GOLCONDA, are all idolaters. In general, all the common people, whether in the territories subject to the GREAT MOGUL, or the Kings of GOLCONDA and BIJAPUR, and the islands of ACHIN, JAVA, and MACASSAR, the Kings of which, as I have elsewhere said, are Muhammadans,—all the common people, I say, of these countries are idolaters.

I have stated that the King of CEYLON is an idolater, and it is true. But it is true also that about

fifty years ago a King of CEYLON became a Christian, and received at his baptism the name of JEAN, having been previously called the Emperor PRIAPENDER.[1] As soon as he embraced Christianity, the Princes and priests of the country established another King in his stead. He did what he could to induce all his people to imitate him, and for this purpose assigned to the Jesuit Fathers twelve of the largest villages which were around COLOMBO, so that from the revenue of these places they might support the children of the country in colleges, where, being well instructed, they would afterwards be able to teach others. For the King represented to these Fathers that it was impossible for them to learn the language of the country well enough to preach to the people, and in effect they found that the youth of CEYLON were so quick and intelligent that they learnt, in six months, more Latin, philosophy and other sciences, than Europeans acquire in a year, and they questioned the Fathers with such subtlety, and so deeply, that they were amazed.

Some years after the King had become a Christian, a very accomplished man and good native philosopher, named ALEGAMMA MOTIAR,[2] as one might say master of the philosophers, after having conversed some time with the Jesuit Fathers and other priests at COLOMBO, was inspired to become a Christian. With this object

[1] Although the period of his reign was somewhat more remote than Tavernier states, it seems probable that this Emperor *Priapender* was Don Juan Dharmápála, who was raised to the throne in 1542 by the Portuguese, and reigned thirty-nine years. He was baptized by Wilponte Alphonso Perera, who went to Ceylon from Goa for the purpose. A number of his chiefs and people also became Christians at the same time. He was opposed throughout his reign by Rájá Singhá, who ultimately superseded him (Forbes, *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, vol. ii, p. 315).

[2] For *Mudaliyar*, a Cingalese title. I cannot identify *Alegamma*.

he went to see the Jesuit Fathers, and told them that he desired to be instructed in the Christian faith, but he inquired what JESUS CHRIST had done and left in writing. He set himself then to read the New Testament with so much attention and ardour that in less than six months there was not a passage which he could not recite, for he had acquired Latin very thoroughly. After having been well instructed, he told the Fathers that he wished to receive holy baptism, that he saw that their religion was the only good and true one, and such as JESUS CHRIST had taught, but what astonished him was, that they did not follow Christ's example, because, according to the Gospel, he never took money from any one, while they on the contrary took it from every one, and neither baptized nor buried any one without it. This did not prevent him from being baptized, and from working for the conversion of the idolaters afterwards.

Such is the present condition of the idolaters throughout ASIA. I come now to those of INDIA in detail and to their gross errors, after which I shall speak of their customs and of the penances of their *Fakirs*.

CHAPTER V

Concerning the belief of the Idolaters with respect to the Deity

THE idolaters of INDIA yield to creatures as the cow, the ape, and different monsters, the honours which are only due to the true Deity, although it is certain that they acknowledge one infinite God, all-powerful and all-wise, Creator of the heavens and the earth, who is omnipresent. They call him in some places PERMESSER, in others PEREMAEL,[1] as, for example, towards the coast of MALABAR; and VVISTNOU[2] in the language of the *Brahmins* who inhabit the coast of COROMANDEL. As the idolaters have perhaps heard that the circle is the most perfect of all figures, they have thought to improve upon it by saying God is of an oval figure, and it is for this reason that they generally keep in their pagodas an oval pebble, which they obtain from the GANGES,[3] and adore as god. They are so strongly fixed

[1] *Parameswara* or *Bramha*, the one true and omnipotent God, to whom, as Ward remarks, there is not a single temple in the whole of India. Educated Hindus maintain, however, that although they may select special gods as the objects of their homage, their worship is addressed really to the Supreme Deity; of uneducated Hindus the same can scarcely be said.

[2] *Vishnu*, the preserver, one of the Hindu triad. He is represented as a black man with four arms—one hand holds a club, another a shell, the third a *chukra* (or metal quoit), and the fourth the lotus.

[3] This is the so-called *saligram* stone. The Sone river supplies

in this foolish idea that the wisest among the *Brahmins* will not listen to any argument against it, and thus it is not to be wondered at if a people who have such evil guides fall into this gross and monstrous idolatry. There is a caste so superstitious about this, that those who belong to it keep these oval stones suspended from their necks, and press them against their bodies while they pray.

In this gross and pitiable ignorance the idolaters, like the ancient pagans, regard their gods as men, and even bestow wives upon them, thinking that they love the same things as those in which men take pleasure. Thus they regard their RÁMÁ as a great deity on account of the wonders which they believe that he performed during his life. The following are the fables which they relate regarding him, as I have learnt from the most accomplished among their *Brahmins*:—

RÁMÁ was the son of a powerful *Raja*, who called himself DESERET,[1] and the most virtuous of many children which he had by two legitimate wives. He was particularly beloved by his father, who had destined him to be his successor. The mother of RÁMÁ having

some which are, I believe, silicious pebbles derived from the basalt; others are obtained from the Himalayas, and these are said to include fossils, *ammonites*. The *saligram* is connected with the worship of *Vishnu*, but it may be worshipped as representing for the time being any god. According to Ward (*History of the Hindus*, chap. xvi) the *saligram* is black, hollow, and nearly round, and is obtained from Gundukee (? a sulphur spring) in Nepal. As much as 2000 rupees was given for one of the first class. Vast sums of money are expended on the festivities connected with the marriage of the *saligram* to the *tulsi* plant (*Oceymum sanctum*). (See Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*, vol. i, p. 158.)

[1] *Rámá*, son of *Das'aratha*, King of Ajodhya. What follows is a tolerably correct version of the Rámáyana.

died, the other wife of the *Raja*, who possessed entire control over her husband, induced him to drive RÁMÁ and his brother LAKSHMÁN[1] from his house and territories; this was done, and by the exclusion of these two brothers, the son of this other wife was declared to be heir to the *Raja*. RÁMÁ and his brother having then received an order to depart, obeyed the command of their father, and as they were about to leave, RÁMÁ went to bid farewell to his wife SITÁ, whom these idolaters regard as a goddess. She was unwilling to part from him, and protested that she would follow him everywhere, and so they all three left the house of the *Raja*, to seek their fortunes. They were unlucky at first, for while passing through a forest, RÁMÁ having gone in pursuit of a bird, where he remained a long time, SITÁ, fearing that some disaster had happened to her husband, by force of her entreaties obliged LAKSHMÁN to go in search of him. He strongly objected, RÁMÁ having told him not to leave SITÁ, having foreseen by a spirit of prophecy what would happen if she remained alone. Nevertheless LAKSHMÁN, moved by the earnest prayers of his sister-in-law, went to seek for RÁMÁ his brother. In the meantime RÁVANA,[2] another god of the idolaters, appeared to SITÁ in the garb of a *Fakir* and asked alms of her. RÁMÁ had told SITÁ not to go outside the place where he had left her,—this being well known to RÁVANA he refused to receive the alms which SITÁ offered him unless she moved from her position. SITÁ, either by mistake or forgetting the command of RÁMÁ, passed beyond the limits which he had indicated, and then

[1] *Lokeman* in the original.
[2] *Rhevan* in the original.

RÁVANA seized her and took her into the depths of the forest where his followers awaited him, with whom he departed to his territories. When RÁMÁ returned from the chase, not finding SITÁ, he fell senseless from grief, but LAKSHMÁN his brother having brought him round, they went together to search for SITÁ, who was tenderly beloved by her husband.

When the *Brahmins* recount this ravishment of their goddess SITÁ they do so with tears and demonstrations of excessive grief, and they add to the story a multitude of ridiculous fables, extolling the great bravery of RÁMÁ in the pursuit of the ravisher of SITÁ. All the animals were employed in order to discover her, among which the monkey HANUMÁN,[1] alone had the good fortune to be successful. He crossed the sea with a bound, and arrived in the gardens of RÁVANA, where he found SITÁ in the deepest affliction, and she was much surprised on beholding a monkey, who spoke on behalf of her husband. At first she was not willing to give credence to what was said to her by such an ambassador, but the monkey in order to authenticate his mission handed her a ring which her husband had given her, but which she had left in her baggage. She had much difficulty in believing such a miracle, and that RÁMÁ her husband had been able to make a beast speak to give her news of him, and such certain indications of his love. The monkey HANUMÁN did wonders at this interview, and having been recognised as a spy by the servants of RÁVANA, who wished to burn him, he made use of the fire which they had prepared for him to kindle the palace of RÁVANA, which was consumed almost entirely, by

[1] *Harman* in the original.

means of the rags which they tied to his tail and body and set on fire. He threw himself immediately among the straw and other combustible matter, which caused a great conflagration in the palace. The monkey realising that he would not escape the hands of RÁVANA if he again fell into them, promptly retook the same road as that by which he had come, and having bathed himself in the sea, which he recrossed at a single bound, he went to give RÁMÁ an account of his adventures, and told him of the affliction in which he had found SITÁ, who was in despair at finding herself so far removed from her husband. RÁMÁ, touched by the affection of his wife, resolved to deliver her from the hands of RÁVANA at whatever cost it might be. This was accomplished, the same monkey serving him as guide, and with the aid of some forces which RÁMÁ had collected from different places. With much difficulty he approached the palace of RÁVANA, which was still smoking, so great had been the fire; and the subjects of this Prince having been dispersed in divers places, it was easy for RÁMÁ to again see his beloved SITÁ, whom RÁVANA abandoned and fled in fear to the mountains. RÁMÁ and SITÁ experienced infinite joy at seeing one another again, and did much honour to the monkey HANUMÁN, who had rendered them so great a service.

As for RÁVANA, he passed the remainder of his days as a poor *Fakir*, his country being altogether ruined by the troops of RÁMÁ, who avenged the injury he had received, and it is from this RÁVANA that this incredible number of *Fakirs*, whom one sees in peregrination throughout INDIA, have taken their

origin. These *Fakirs* lead a life of such austerity that their penances amount to prodigies, and I have had the curiosity to collect several pictures of them, some of which I shall show to the reader in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI

Concerning Fakirs, or the professional Mendicants of INDIA, *and their penances.*

THE *Fakirs*, as I have just said, take their origin from RÁVANA, whom RÁMÁ despoiled of his kingdom, who on that account felt so much annoyance that he resolved to wander like a vagabond throughout the world, poor and bereft of all property, and likewise completely nude. He at once found many people who followed him in this kind of life, which afforded them all kinds of liberty. For being reverenced as saints, they had abundant opportunities of doing whatsoever evil they wished.

These *Fakirs* ordinarily travel in troops, each of which has its Chief or Superior. As they go perfectly nude, winter and summer, always lying on the ground, and since it is sometimes cold, the young *Fakirs* and other idolaters who have most devotion, go in the afternoon to search for the droppings of cows and other animals, which are dried by the sun, with which they kindle fires. They seldom use wood through fear lest it may contain some living animal which would be killed — that which is used to burn the dead is a kind of drift-wood which does not engender worms. These young *Fakirs*, having collected a

quantity of these droppings mingled with dry earth, make many large fires according to the size of the troop, and ten or twelve *Fakirs* seat themselves around each fire. When sleep overtakes them, they allow themselves to fall on the ground, upon which they spread ashes to serve as a mattress, and they have only the heavens for a covering. As for those who perform the penances, of which I shall presently speak, when they lie during the night in the same position as one sees them during the day, fires are kindled for them on each side, without which they would be unable to withstand the cold; this will be seen at the end of this chapter in the illustrations which I give of the penances. Wealthy idolaters consider themselves happy, and believe that their houses receive the blessings of heaven, when they have as guests some of these *Fakirs*, whom they honour in proportion to their austerity; and the glory of a troop is to have some one in it who performs a notable penance, like those of which I shall hereafter speak.

These troops of *Fakirs* join together in numbers to go on pilgrimage to the principal pagodas, and to the public bathings which are held on certain days of the year, both in the river GANGES, which they specially esteem, as also in that which separates the territories of the Portuguese at GOA from those of the King of BIJAPUR.[1] Some of the most austere *Fakirs* dwell in miserable huts near their pagodas, where they are given food, for the love of God, once in every twenty-four hours.

The tree, of which a picture will be seen at the

[1] This, I suppose, means the Kistná, though I believe the authority of Portugal did not extend so far to the east and north-east.

end of this chapter, is of the same kind as that near GOMBROON, and I have given a description of it also in the accounts of PERSIA.[1] The *Franks* call it the tree of the *Banians*, because, in places where there are any of these trees, the idolaters sit under them and cook their food there. They reverence them specially, and generally build their pagodas either under or close to one of these great trees. The one which the reader will see depicted further on is at SURAT, and in its trunk, which is hollow, a monster is represented like the head of a deformed woman, which is said to be the representation of the first woman, whom they call *Mamaniva*.[2] Every day a large number of idolaters assemble there to adore this monster, near to which there is constantly some *Brahmin* detailed for its service, and to receive the offerings made to it of rice, millet, and other grains. On all those who have prayed in the pagoda, both men and women, the *Brahmin* makes a mark on the middle of the forehead with a kind of vermilion, with which the idol is also painted. With this mark on them they do not fear that the devil will injure them, because

[1] Namely the Banyan, *Ficus Indica*, Linn. The reference is to Book V, chap. xxiii, of the *Persian Travels*.

Another example with its numerous stems is the famous *Kabir bar* on an island in the Narbadá 12 miles above Broach. At one time it covered an area of 2000 feet in circumference, and had upwards of 3250 separate stems. It has afforded shelter to 7000 men at a time, but is now much reduced in size. The particular tree at Gombroon referred to by our author is also mentioned by Mandelslo, Valentjin, and Della Valle. The Persian name for the tree is *lúl*.

This is a distinct species from the famous *Bo* tree (*F. religiosa*) of Ceylon, one of which, having a known history, recorded in full detail by Sir Emerson Tennent (*Ceylon*, vol. ii, p. 613), was planted B.C. 288.

[2] This is a corrupt form of one of the names of *Durga*, the wife of *Shiva*, perhaps *Muhishu-murdinee*. (See Ward, *History of the Hindoos*, vol. i, p. 129.)

they are, as they say, under the protection of their God.

I give here the explanation of the figures represented under the tree of the *Banians*, marked by the numbers 1, 2, 3, etc.[1]

1. Is the place where the *Brahmins* dress up a representation of some one of their idols, as MAMANIVA, SITÁ, MADEDINA,[2] and other similar ones which are very numerous.

2. Is the figure of MAMANIVA which is in the pagoda.

3. Is another pagoda close to the preceding. It has a cow at the door, and inside a representation of the god RÁMÁ.

4. Is another pagoda, where *Fakirs* betake themselves for penance.

5. Is a fourth pagoda dedicated to RÁMÁ.

6. Is the form of a grave, where several times during the year a *Fakir* withdraws, where he gets no light except through a very small hole. He sometimes remains there nine or ten days without drinking or eating, according to his devotion—a thing which I could not easily have believed if I had not seen it. Curiosity led me to go to see this penitent in company with the Dutch Commander of SURAT, who ordered a watch to be set in order to see whether he did not receive anything to eat by day or night. The watch were unable to discover that he received any nourishment, and he remained seated like our tailors without changing his position either by day or night. He

[1] This plate has not been reproduced, being rudely drawn and of no great interest or importance.

[2] *Mahádeva?* another name for *Shiva*.

whom I saw was not able to remain more than seven days out of the ten which he had vowed to spend, because the heat stifled him on account of the lamp in the grave.[1] The other kinds of penance, of which I am about to speak, would still further exceed human belief if thousands of men were not witnesses of them.

7. Is the position of a penitent who has passed many years without ever lying down either by day or night. When he wishes to sleep he leans on a suspended cord, and in that position, which is very strange and inconvenient, the humours descend to the legs, which become thereby swollen.

8. These are the positions of two penitents who, till death, keep their arms elevated in the air, so that the joints become so stiff that they are never able to lower them again. Their hair grows down below the waist, and their nails equal their fingers in length. Night and day, winter and summer, they remain quite naked in this position, exposed to the rain and heat, and to the stings of mosquitoes, without being able to use their hands to drive them away. With regard to the other necessities of life, as drinking and eating, they have *Fakirs* in their company who wait on them as required.

9. Is the position of another penitent, who stands

[1] Ibn Batuta speaks of *Jogis* who used to allow themselves to be buried for months, or even for a twelvemonth together, and were afterwards revived, upon which Col. Yule remarks, "This art, or the profession of it, is not yet extinct in India." A very curious account of one of its professors will be found in a *Personal Narrative of a Tour through the States of Rajwara* (Calcutta, 1837, pp. 41-44), by Major-General A. H. E. Boileau. (See *Cathay and the Way thither*, p. 413.) (See *post*, chap. x.)

for several hours daily on one foot, holding in his hands a chafing-dish full of fire, upon which he throws the incense which he offers to his god, having his eyes at the same time turned towards the sun.

10 and 11. These are the postures of two other penitents, seated, who have their hands elevated in the air.

12. Is the position in which the penitents sleep without ever lowering their arms; this without doubt is one of the greatest torments which the human body can suffer.

13. Is the position of another penitent, whose weakness has caused his hands to fall behind his back, not being able to lower his arms, which are dried up from lack of nutrition.

There are an infinity of other penitents, some of whom assume positions altogether contrary to the natural attitude of the human body, having their eyes always turned to the sun; others who have their eyes directed to the ground, without ever looking at any one in the face, nor saying a single word; and the diversity is so great that it would be sufficient to form the subject of a long discourse.

In order to give more satisfaction to the curious, and to enable them to understand matters more distinctly, I shall add here other pictures of these same penitents, which I have had drawn, on the spot, after nature. Modesty has compelled me to conceal the parts which they have no shame about exposing to view, for at all times, both in the country and in the towns, they go about altogether as naked as they came out of their mothers' wombs; and although the women approach them out of devotion in order to

do what cannot be named for shame, you do not see in them any sign of sensuality; but on the contrary, without regarding any one, and rolling the eyes terribly, you would say they are absorbed in abstraction.

CHAPTER VII

Concerning the belief of the Idolaters touching the condition of the soul of man after death.

It is one of the articles of the belief of the idolaters that the souls of men on leaving their bodies after death are presented to God, who, according to the life the owners have led, allots them other bodies to inhabit, so that the same person is several times reborn into the world. And of men of evil life, degraded in their habits and plunged in all kinds of vices, God sends the souls, after being separated from the bodies, into the bodies of inferior animals, such as asses, dogs, cats, and others, in order that they may perform penance for their crimes in these infamous prisons. But it is believed that the souls which enter the bodies of cows are supremely happy, because these animals are regarded as divinities. If a man dies with a cow's tail in his hand, that will suffice, it is said, to render him altogether happy in a future life.

As the idolaters believe in this passage of human souls into the bodies of animals, they abhor the slaughter of any animal, of whatsoever kind it may be, through fear of being guilty of the death of some one of their relations or friends who may be doing penance in one of these bodies.

If these men, during their lives, perform virtuous actions, such as pilgrimages and the giving of alms, they hold that after death their souls pass into the bodies of some powerful *Rajas* or other rich persons, who enjoy the pleasures of life as a reward for the good deeds they had done in other bodies.

This is the reason why the *Fakirs*, of whom I have spoken in the preceding chapter, perform such horrible penances; and as all men are not able to bring themselves to suffer so much in this world, they seek during their lives to make up by good works for the want of these penances, and further direct their inheritors by their wills to give alms to the *Brahmins*, to the end that, by the power of the prayers which they cause them to say, God may assign them the body of some grand personage. In the month of January of the year 1661 the *Shroff* or money-changer of the Dutch Company, named MONDAS PAREK, died at SURAT. He was a rich man and very charitable, having bestowed much alms during his life on the Christians as well as on the idolaters; the Rev. Capuchin Fathers of SURAT living for a part of the year on the rice, butter, and vegetables which he sent to them. This *Banian* was only ill for four or five days, and in that time, as also during eight or ten days after his death, his brothers distributed 9000 or 10,000 rupees, and burnt his body, adding to the ordinary wood much sandal and aloes, believing that by this means the soul of their brother, on passing into another body, would become a great noble in some other country. There are some among them who are foolish enough to bury their treasures during their lifetime, as, for instance, nearly all the rich men of the Kingdom of ASSAM, so that if they

enter, after death, the body of any poor and miserable mendicant, they can have recourse to the money which they have buried in order to draw from it at necessity. This is the reason why so much gold and silver and so many precious stones are buried in INDIA,[1] and an idolater must be poor indeed if he has no money buried in the earth. I remember that I one day bought in INDIA, for 600 rupees, an agate cup 6 inches high and of the size of one of our silver plates.[2] The seller assured me that more than forty years had elapsed since it was buried in the earth, and that he preserved it to serve his need after death, it being a matter of indifference to him whether he buried the cup or the money. On my last voyage I bought from one of these idolaters sixty-two diamonds weighing about 6 grains apiece, and on telling him of my astonishment at seeing so fine a parcel, he replied that I need not be astonished, seeing that it took nearly fifty years to accumulate them for his wants after death; but his affairs having changed, and having need of money, he had been obliged to dispose of them. These buried treasures were one day of great service to the *Raja* SIVAJI, who took up arms against the GREAT MOGUL and the King

[1] The enormous absorption of gold by India and its disappearance, is explained by many writers in the same way. Bernier, among others, may be mentioned, but the subject is too extensive to be entered on here. Quite recently about £5,000,000 of horded treasure, including precious stones, was taken from pits and wells sunk in the palace zenána at Gwalior.

[2] This was probably of the kind known to the Romans as the Murrhine cups. The custom of roasting the agates to develop the colours doubtless gave rise to the idea that the material was some form of porcelain; while the suggestion that they were made of fluor spar may be rejected, as that mineral is not known in India, and there is no trace of its ever having been imported or worked by the lapidaries of Western India.

of BIJAPUR. This *Raja* having taken CALLIAN BONDI,[1] a small town of the Kingdom of BIJAPUR, by the advice of the *Brahmins*, who assured him that he would find a considerable amount of buried treasure, he ordered it to be partly demolished, and found in fact great riches, with which he supported his army, consisting of more than 30,000 men. It is impossible to disabuse these idolaters of their errors, because they will not listen to reason, and they entirely subordinate their own judgment to their ancient customs, the principal of which is to burn the bodies of the deceased.

[1] Probably Kulliáni, in District of same name, Long. 77°, Lat. 17° 53′ 30″, A. S. No. 57.

CHAPTER VIII

Concerning the idolaters' custom of burning the bodies of the deceased.

THE custom among the Gentiles of burning bodies after death is very ancient; they generally burn them on the banks of rivers, where they wash the bodies of the deceased to complete the cleansing of those sins from which they have not been purified during life. This superstition goes to such extremes that very often sick persons, when on the point of death, are carried to the margin of a river or tank, and their feet are placed in the water. According as nature fails the body is pushed forwards, and at last it is held by the chin only, so that at the moment when the spirit departs and leaves the body, both the one and the other can be purged of all defilement by plunging the body wholly into the water, after which it is burned in the same place, which is always close to some pagoda. There are people who make it their business to collect wood, and there is a fixed rate of payment for their trouble. When an idolater is dead, all those of his caste or tribe who are in the place assemble at the house of the deceased, and the body having been placed on a litter covered by some fine cloth, according to the station of the defunct and the property which he has

left, they accompany it to the place where it is to be burnt, following the litter, which is carried on the shoulders of those appointed for that duty. They always proceed chanting some prayers to their god, and calling out *Rám, Rám,* and, while carrying the body, there is some one who sounds a small bell to give notice to the living to pray for the deceased. The body having arrived at the margin of the river or tank, it is plunged into the water, and afterwards burnt. This is done in three different ways, as I shall describe in the following chapter. According to the wealth of the deceased, there is mingled with the ordinary wood which is collected for burning, more or less sandal-wood or other scented wood.

But the idolaters not only burn dead bodies; their cruel superstition goes further, for they also burn the bodies of the living. They make scruple about killing a serpent, and even a bug, yet they regard it as a highly meritorious action to cause a living woman to be burnt in the fire together with the body of her deceased husband.

CHAPTER IX

How the women burn themselves with the bodies of their deceased husbands in INDIA.

IT is also an ancient custom among the idolaters of INDIA that on a man dying his widow can never remarry; as soon, therefore, as he is dead she withdraws to weep for her husband, and some days afterwards her hair is shaved off, and she despoils herself of all the ornaments with which her person was adorned, she removes from her arms and legs the bracelets which her husband had given her, when espousing her, as a sign that she was to be submissive and bound to him, and she remains for the rest of her life without being of any consideration, and worse than a slave, in the place where previously she was mistress. This miserable condition causes her to detest life, and prefer to ascend a funeral pile to be consumed alive with the body of her defunct husband, rather than be regarded for the remainder of her days with opprobrium and infamy by all the world. Joined to which the *Brahmins* induce the women to hope that by dying in this way, with their husbands, they will live again with them in some other part of the world with more glory and more comfort than they have previously enjoyed. These are the two reasons which

make these unhappy women resolve to burn themselves with the bodies of their husbands; to which it should be added that the priests buoy them up with the hope that at the moment when they are in the fire, before they yield up their souls, *Rám* will reveal wonderful things to them, and that after the soul has passed through several bodies it will attain to an exalted degree of glory for all eternity.

But it should be remarked that a woman cannot burn herself with the body of her husband without having received permission from the Governor of the place where she dwells, and those Governors who are Muhammadans, hold this dreadful custom of self-destruction in horror, and do not readily give permission. On the other hand, it is only the women who become widows, without children, who can be reproached for not having loved their husbands if they have not had courage to burn themselves after their death, and to whom this want of courage will be for the remainder of their lives a cause of reproach. For, as for the widows who have children, they are not permitted under any circumstances to burn themselves with the bodies of their husbands; and very far from custom obliging them, it is ordained that they shall live in order to watch over the education of their children. Those whom the Governors peremptorily refuse to grant permission to burn themselves pass the remainder of their lives in severe penances and in doing charitable deeds. There are some who frequent the great highways either to boil water with vegetables, in order to give it as a drink to passers by, or to keep fire always ready to light the pipes of those who desire to smoke tobacco. There are others among them who

make a vow to eat nothing but what they find undigested in the droppings of oxen, cows, and buffaloes,[1] and who do still more absurd things.

The Governor, seeing that all the remonstrances he makes to these women, who are urged to burn themselves even by their relatives and by the *Brahmins*, are ineffectual to turn them from the damnable resolution which they have taken to die in so cruel a fashion, when his secretary indicates by a sign that he has received a bribe, at length allows them to do what they wish, and in a rage tells all the idolaters who accompany them that they may "go to the devil."

Immediately on this permission being obtained, all the music commences to make itself heard, and with the sound of drums, flutes, and other instruments of that kind, all go to the house of the deceased, and from thence, as I have said, accompany the body to the margin of a river or tank, where it is to be burned.

All the relatives and friends of the widow who desires to die after her husband, congratulate her beforehand on the good fortune which she is about to acquire in the other world, and on the glory which all the members of the caste derive from her noble resolution. She dresses herself as for her wedding-day, and is conducted in triumph to the place where she is to be burnt. A great noise is made with the instruments of music and the voices of the women who follow, singing hymns to the glory of the unhappy one who is about to die. The *Brahmins* accompanying her exhort her to show resolution and courage, and many Europeans believe that in order to

[1] This form of penance is, I believe, not extinct.

remove the fear of that death which man naturally abhors, she is given some kind of drink that takes away her senses and removes all apprehension which the preparations for her death might give rise to.[1] It is for the interest of the *Brahmins* that these unhappy women maintain the resolution they have taken to burn themselves, for all the bracelets which they wear, both on arms and legs, with their earrings and rings, belong of right to these *Brahmins*, and they are searched for in the ashes after the women are burnt. According to the station and wealth of the women, the bracelets, earrings, and rings are either of gold or silver; the poorest have them of copper and tin; but as for precious stones, they do not wear them at all when going to be burnt.

I have seen women burnt in three different ways, according to the customs of different countries. In the Kingdom of GUJARÁT, and as far as AGRA and DELHI, this is how it takes place: On the margin of a river or tank, a kind of small hut, about 12 feet square, is built of reeds and all kinds of faggots, with which some pots of oil and other drugs are placed in order to make it burn quickly. The woman being seated in a half-reclining position in the middle of the hut, her head reposing on a kind of pillow of wood, and resting her back against a post, to which she is tied by her waist by one of the *Brahmins*, for fear lest she should escape on feeling the flame. In this position she holds the dead body of her husband on her knees, chewing *betel* all the time; and after having been about half

[1] Preparations of *bhâng*, or Indian hemp, used to be given for this purpose, but in many cases the excitement alone, in all probability, produced an insensibility to pain.

an hour in this condition, the *Brahmin* who has been by her side in the hut goes outside, and she calls out to the priests to apply the fire; this the *Brahmins*, and the relatives and friends of the woman who are present, immediately do, throwing into the fire some pots of oil, so that the woman may suffer less by being quickly consumed. After the bodies have been reduced to ashes, the *Brahmins* take whatever is found in the way of melted gold, silver, tin, or copper, derived from the bracelets, earrings, and rings which the woman had on; this belongs to them by right, as I have said.

In the Kingdom of BENGAL women are burnt in another manner. A woman in that country must be very poor if she does not come with the body of her husband to the margin of the GANGES in order to wash it after he is dead, and to bathe herself before being burnt. I have seen them come to the GANGES more than twenty days' journey, the bodies being by that time altogether putrid, and emitting an unbearable odour. There was one of them who, coming from the north, near the frontiers of the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, with the body of her husband which she had conveyed in a carriage, travelled all the way on foot herself, without eating for fifteen or sixteen days, till she arrived at the GANGES, where after having washed the body of her husband, which stank horribly, and having bathed herself also, she had herself burnt with him with a determination which surprised those who saw it. I was there at the time. As throughout the length of the GANGES, and also in all BENGAL, there is but little fuel,[1] these poor women send to beg for wood out of charity to burn themselves

[1] This remark is of interest as showing that the scarcity of fuel, which is now so much felt, had already been experienced in these regions.

with the dead bodies of their husbands. There is prepared for them a funeral pile, which is like a kind of bed, with its pillow of small wood and reeds, in which pots of oil and other drugs are placed in order to consume the body quickly. The woman who intends to burn herself, preceded by some drums, flutes, and hautboys, and dressed in her most beautiful ornaments, comes dancing to the funeral pile, and having ascended it she places herself, half-lying, half-seated. Then the body of her husband is laid across her, and all the relatives and friends bring her, one a letter, another a piece of cloth, this one flowers, that one pieces of silver or copper, saying to her, give this from me to my mother, or to my brother, or to some relative or friend, whoever the dead person may be whom they have most loved while alive. When the woman sees that they bring her nothing more, she asks those present three times whether they have any more commissions for her, and if they do not reply she wraps all they have brought in a *taffeta*, which she places between her lap and the back of the body of her defunct husband, calling upon the priests to apply fire to the funeral pile. This the *Brahmins* and the relatives do simultaneously. As there is, as I have remarked, but little wood in the Kingdom of BENGAL, as soon as these miserable women are dead and half burnt, their bodies are thrown into the GANGES with those of their husbands, where they are eaten by the crocodiles.

I should not forget here an evil custom which is practised among the idolaters of the same Kingdom of BENGAL. When a woman is delivered, and the infant, as often happens, is unwilling to take to its mother's

breast in order to suckle, it is carried outside the village and placed in a cloth, which is tied by the four corners to the branches of a tree, and is thus left from morning to evening. In this way the poor infant is exposed to the crows, which come to torment it, and some have been found whose eyes have been torn out of their heads, which is the reason why many idolaters are seen in BENGAL who have but one eye, and others who have both injured or altogether gone. In the evening the infant is taken to see whether it is willing to suckle during the following night, and should it happen that it still refuses the breast, it is taken back on the following day to the same place; this is done for three days in sequence, after which, if the infant is altogether unwilling to take the breast, in the belief that it is a demon, it is cast into the GANGES, or into some other river or tank which is closer at hand. In the places where there are many monkeys these poor children are not so exposed to the attacks of crows, for this reason, that as soon as a monkey discovers a nest of these birds he climbs the tree, and throws the nest on one side and the eggs on the other. On the other hand, there are among the English, Dutch, and Portuguese charitable persons who, moved to compassion for the misfortune of these infants, remove them when they are thus exposed and hung in a tree, and take care to have them brought up as I have one day seen an example of at HUGLY; this is done in the places near their factories.

Let us see now what is the practice along the coast of COROMANDEL when women are going to be burnt with the bodies of their deceased husbands. A large hole of 9 or 10 feet deep, and 25 or 30 feet square, is

dug, into which an abundance of wood is thrown, with many drugs to make it burn fast. When this hole is well heated, the body of the husband is placed on the edge, and then his wife comes dancing, and chewing *betel*, accompanied by all her relatives and friends, and with the sound of drums and cymbals. The woman then takes three turns round the hole, and at each time she kisses all her relatives and friends. When she completes the third turn the *Brahmins* throw the body of the deceased into the fire, and the woman, having her back turned to the hole, is also pushed by the same *Brahmins*, and falls in backwards. Then all the relatives throw pots of oil and other drugs of that kind, as I have said is elsewhere done, so that the bodies may be the sooner consumed. In the greater part of the same COROMANDEL coast the woman does not burn herself with the body of her deceased husband, but allows herself to be interred, while alive, with him in a hole which the *Brahmins* dig in the ground, about 1 foot deeper than the height of the man or woman. They generally select a sandy spot, and when they have placed the man and woman in this hole, each of those who have accompanied them, having filled a basket of sand, throw it on the bodies until the hole is full and heaped over, half a foot higher than the ground, after which they jump and dance upon it till they conclude that the woman is smothered.[1]

When any of the idolaters of this COROMANDEL

[1] Thevenot alludes to the custom of burying widows alive, but says that when they were covered with clay up to the neck, they were strangled by the Brahmins (*Voyage*, p. 253). Numerous other writers also refer to the custom. As is the case with *Suttee*, this practice is now extinct, but were the restraint removed it is most probable that there would be reversion to both in some parts of India.

country are on the point of death, their friends do not act like those elsewhere, who carry them to die at the margin of a river or tank, so that their souls when leaving the body may be cleansed of their impurity. They simply carry them into the vicinity of the fattest cow which they are able to find.[1]

. . . . . .

If a cow happens to be sick the owner must convey it to the margin of a tank or river, for should it die in his house the *Brahmins* inflict a fine upon him.[2]

[1] The remainder of this passage has been omitted, as the ceremony described is too disgusting for reproduction.

[2] These fines, as described by Ward, were very heavy, sufficient in some cases to cripple a man's resources for the remainder of his life. (See *History of the Hindoos.*)

CHAPTER X

Remarkable histories of several women who have been burnt after the death of their husbands.

AMONG several examples of this more than barbarous custom of the women of the idolaters of INDIA of burning themselves with the corpses of their husbands, I will relate three remarkable cases, of two of which I was a witness.

The *Raja* of VELLORE, of whom I have spoken in the first book of this account of INDIA,[1] having at the same time lost both this town and his life by the victory which the General of the King of BIJAPUR gained over him, there was great mourning in all his Court. Eleven of the women of his household were keenly affected by his death, and all resolved to burn themselves when his body was burnt. The General of the BIJAPUR army having heard of this resolve, thought that he would be able to dissuade these desperate women by flattering them, and by promising them all kinds of good treatment. But seeing that that was of no effect, and that they wished absolutely to be burnt with the body of the deceased, he directed that they should be kept shut up in a room. He who received this order, on going to execute it, was told by these

[1] Velou in the original (see vol. i, p. 161).

infuriated women that it was in vain, that he might do his best, but that it was useless to keep them prisoners, and that if they were not allowed to do what they wished, they had resolved that in three hours there would not be one of them alive. This threat was jeered at, and it was not believed that it would be carried into effect. But he who had these women in charge, on opening the door of the room at the end of three hours, found the eleven all dead and stretched on the ground, without any indication being apparent that they had hastened their deaths, either by steel, rope, or poison, nor could any one see how they had been able to make away with themselves. It was assuredly the case on this occasion that the evil spirit had played his game. Let us pass to another history.

Two of the most powerful *Rajas* of INDIA, who were brothers, having come to AGRA in the year 1642 to pay their respects to SHÁH JAHÁN, who then reigned, not having properly acquitted themselves therein, in the opinion of the Grand Master of the King's house, he one day said to one of the two *Rajas*, who were together under the gallery of the palace, in the presence of the King, that this was not the sort of demeanour that should be observed towards so great a monarch as the King his master. This *Raja* regarding himself as a King and a great Prince, and having brought 15,000 or 16,000 horse in his suite with the other *Raja*, his brother, was offended by the boldness the Grand Master showed in reprimanding him in that fashion, and drawing his dagger slew him on the spot, in the presence of the King, who witnessed the deed from an elevated position, where, as I have elsewhere said, he generally administers

justice. The Grand Master having fallen at the feet of his brother, who was close to him, the latter immediately set himself to avenge his death, but was anticipated by the brother of the *Raja*, who stabbed him in the breast with his dagger and flung his dead body on that of the Grand Master. The King, who beheld these two murders, one after the other, was frightened and withdrew into his *harem;* but forthwith all the *Omrahs* and other people who were present under the gallery, threw themselves on the two *Rajas* and cut them to pieces. The King, indignant at such an action being committed in his house and in his presence, ordered the bodies of the *Rajas* to be thrown into the river; but as soon as the troops they had left near AGRA heard of the affront which was intended to be done to the memory of their Princes, they threatened to enter the city and pillage it; this caused the King, rather than expose the city to this danger, to order that the bodies should be handed over to them. This was done, and the *Rajputs* were appeased by this means. As they went to burn them they beheld thirteen women of the households of these two *Rajas* approaching, dancing and leaping, who forthwith ascended the funeral pile, which they encircled, holding one another by the hand, and being immediately enveloped by the smoke, which suffocated them, they all fell together into the fire. The *Brahmins* then threw upon them a quantity of wood, pots of oil, and other drugs, according to custom, in order that the bodies should be quickly consumed.

I remember another strange occurrence which happened one day in my presence at PATNA, a town of BENGAL. I was with the Dutch at the house of the

Governor of the town, a venerable noble, nearly eighty years old, who commanded 5000 or 6000 horse, when there entered the reception room where we were seated a young and very beautiful woman, who was scarcely more than twenty-two years of age. This woman, with a firm and resolute voice, came to ask the Governor's permission to burn herself with the body of her deceased husband. This Governor, touched by the youth and beauty of the woman, sought to turn her from her resolution, but seeing that all that he could say was useless, and that she only became more obstinate, asking him with a bold and courageous voice if he believed that she feared fire; he asked if she knew any torment equal to fire, and if it had never happened to her to burn her hand. "No, no," this woman then replied to him with more courage than before; "I do not fear fire in any way, and in order to make you see that it is so, you have only to order a well-lighted torch to be brought here." The Governor, being horrified with the conversation of the woman, did not wish to hear more from her, and dismissing her told her in a rage that she might go to the devil. Some young nobles who were by him asked him to allow them to test the woman and to order a torch to be brought, persuading him that she would not have the courage to burn herself with it. At first he was unwilling to consent, but they continued to urge him with so much pressure that at length, by his order, a torch was brought, which, in India, is nothing else than a cloth twisted and steeped in oil, and put on the end of a stick after the manner of a chafing dish; this, which we call a lamp (*fallot*), serves us at need in the crossways of towns. As soon as the

woman saw the torch, which was well kindled, she ran in front of it, and holding her hand firmly in the flame without the least grimace, and advancing the arm likewise up to the elbow, it was all immediately scorched; this caused horror to all who witnessed the deed, and the Governor commanded the woman to be removed from his presence.

Since we are at PATNA I shall relate yet another strange thing which happened there one day, and of which I was a witness. A *Brahmin*, coming from outside, entered the town, and summoning all of his own tribe, told them that they must give him 2000 rupees and 27 cubits of cloth, which are, as I have said, the ells of this country. The principal among them having told him that it was impossible, and that they were poor, he persisted in his demand to have what he asked for, and declared that he would remain there without drinking or eating till they had brought the cloth and the 2000 rupees. With this resolution he mounted on a tree which was in the square, and seated himself on a forked branch, remaining in this position without eating or drinking during several days. The report of this extravagance having reached the ears of the Dutch, with whom I then was, they and I gave money to keep men on the watch all the night close to the tree, in order to see if it was true that this man was able to remain for so long a time without eating or drinking, which he did indeed during thirty days, of which, besides the people whom we had engaged for the purpose, there were more than 100 other witnesses whom those of the tribe had sent, and who never moved by day or night from the vicinity of the tree. At length, on the thirty-first day

of so surprising and extraordinary a fast, the idolaters, fearing that the *Brahmin* would not be able to hold out longer against hunger, and having a scruple about allowing one of their priests to die for want of giving him that which he asked for, taxed themselves all round and took him the 27 ells of cloth and the 2000 rupees.[1] As soon as the *Brahmin* saw the money and cloth he descended from the tree, and after having reproached all those of the tribe who were present at this spectacle with their want of charity to the poor, he distributed to the poorest the whole sum, only reserving 5 or 6 rupees for himself. He did the same with the cloth, which he cut up into many pieces, only keeping for himself what was sufficient to cover the middle of his body, and this distribution having been made he disappeared before all the crowd, who have never since heard what had become of him, notwithstanding all the research that they could make; this ought to show sufficiently that in these matters the work of the devil is manifested.

As there are many Chinese at BATAVIA, I shall give here an account of a custom which I have observed among that kind of idolaters. When a Chinaman is at the point of death, all the relatives and friends who come to see him range themselves about him, and ask him, while crying, where he wishes to go, that if he wants anything he has only to say it and that they will give it to him, be it gold, silver, or women. When dead

[1] This is what is known in India as sitting *dharná*—to enforce payment of a demand; it is now an offence under the Indian penal code. As to the possibility of a man remaining for so long a period without food, India furnishes numerous apparently well authenticated instances. Besides which we have Dr. Tanner's case in America, and many in different countries of Europe. (See p. 200).

many ceremonies are performed at their funerals; these consist principally in displays of fireworks, in which the Chinese excel all the other nations of the world, and a man must be very poor if something is not expended on them at his death. Moreover, some silver is placed in a small box, which is buried near the deceased, and a quantity of food is placed near the grave in the belief that he will come to eat it. As some soldiers of the garrison are sent out of BATAVIA every evening to make the circuit of the town during the night, they on one occasion took it into their heads to go to these graves, where they ate up what had been left; this they continued to do for some nights consecutively. But the Chinese were no sooner aware of it than, in order to deter them from returning, they on three or four occasions poisoned the food which they placed on the graves of their dead; this caused a great disturbance in BATAVIA. The Chinese occupy a leading position in commerce, and are more cunning than the Dutch, but not being liked by the people of the town, the latter took the part of the soldiers, and accused the Chinese of having poisoned some of them. But they defended themselves from this accusation very cleverly, saying, that if greed had caused these soldiers to die from eating the food which had been left on the graves of their dead, they were not the cause, as it was not for the soldiers that they had left it, and that till then among the great number whom they had interred not one of the dead persons had ever complained of such a thing; thus nothing more was said about it, and the soldiers dared not meddle with them any further.

CHAPTER XI

Concerning the most celebrated Pagodas of the Idolaters of INDIA

THE idolaters of INDIA have, both in the towns and country parts, a great number of temples, large as well as small, which they call pagodas, where they go to pray to their gods and make offerings; but many of the poor people who dwell in the forests and mountains, far removed from villages, take a stone, and rudely trace a nose and eyes with yellow or red colour upon it, and all the family then worship it.

The four most celebrated pagodas are, JAGANNÁTH, BENARES, MUTTRA, and TIRUPATI (TRIPATTY),[1] of each of which I shall give a separate description.

JAGANNÁTH is the name of one of the mouths of the GANGES,[2] upon which the great pagoda is built, where the Great *Brahmin*, that is to say the High Priest of the idolaters, resides. The form of the choir or interior of this pagoda is as follows; and it is similar, in proportion, in all the others, which are built upon the same model, in the form of a cross. The great idol on

[1] *Jagrenate*, *Banarous*, *Matura*, and *Tripeti* in the original.

[2] The position of Jagannáth is on the sea coast of Orissa, at Puri, which is many miles from the nearest mouth of the Ganges. Bernier, Tavernier's contemporary, was better informed, as in a letter to M. Chapelain he states it was situated on the Gulf of Bengal.

the altar of the choir[1] has two diamonds for his eyes and a pendant from his neck which reaches to the waist, and the smallest of these diamonds weighs about 40 carats; he has bracelets on his arms, some being of pearls and some of rubies, and this magnificent idol is called *Kesora*.[2] The revenues of this great pagoda are sufficient to feed 15,000 or 20,000 pilgrims daily, and these numbers are often to be found there, the pagoda being the object of the highest devotion by the Indians, who visit it from all quarters. It should be remarked that jewellers, who come like others, are not now permitted to enter the pagoda, since one of them, who allowed himself to be shut up during the night, extracted a diamond from one of the eyes of the idol, intending to steal it. As he was about to leave in the morning, when the pagoda was opened, this thief, they say, died at the door, and the idol performed this miracle as a punishment for sacrilege. What makes this pagoda, which is a grand building, the principal one in INDIA, is, that it is situated on the GANGES, the idolaters believing that the waters of that river have a special virtue, which cleanses them from defilement when they bathe in it. That which causes this pagoda to

[1] Of late years no European has been allowed to enter Jagannáth. On the occasion of the late Lord Mayo's last journey, which was cut short by his murder in the Andaman Islands, he had it in contemplation to visit Puri on his return to Calcutta, and a rumour was then abroad that a special concession about entering the temple was to be made in his favour. The temple has been described by Hindus, and in especial detail by Dr. Rajendra, Lál Mittra, in his *Orissa*.

[2] Krishna. The bones of Krishna, who had been killed by a hunter, were placed inside an image, which was never completed owing to the impatience of King Indra, who, however, obtained from Bramha a concession that the idol should become famous as Jagannáth. (Ward, *History of the Hindoos*, vol. i, p. 206.)

be otherwise so rich (for it supports up to 20,000 cows) is the great amount of the offerings made every day by the incredible multitude of people who arrive from all parts. But these alms are not altogether at the discretion of those who give them, as they are fixed by the High Priest, who before granting permission to the pilgrims to shave themselves, to wash themselves in the GANGES, and to do the other things necessary to fulfil their vows, taxes each one according to his means, of which he is very exactly informed. Thus he receives enormous sums, from which he himself derives no profit, all being expended on the feeding of the poor and the support of the pagoda. The Grand *Brahmin*, then, distributes to the pilgrims whatever food is required, each day, as butter, milk, rice, and flour; but to the poor, who are in want of utensils to cook their food with, it is given ready cooked. It is a surprising thing, and well worthy of notice, to observe how the food is distributed to the poor people who have no pots. In the morning the rice is cooked in earthen pots of different sizes, and when the hour has come when these poor pilgrims arrive to ask for food, if, for example, there are five, the Chief *Brahmin* orders another *Brahmin* to take a pot full of cooked rice, which he lets fall, and the pot breaks itself equally into five parts, of which each pilgrim takes one, and likewise in proportion, more or less, according to the number of people who present themselves to whom the rice is to be distributed. The *Brahmins* never cook twice in the same earthen pot, but use copper pots frequently, and they have for plates certain leaves larger than our walnut leaves,[1] which are stitched

[1] Probably the leaves of the Sál tree, *Shorea robusta* (Roxb.)

together. They have, however, a kind of dish about a foot in diameter, which is used to melt butter, in which they dip the rice with their fingers when eating, and a small ladle for the melted butter, which is drunk as we drink a glass of Spanish wine after a repast.

I come now to a more detailed description of the idol on the altar of the pagoda of JAGANNÁTH. It is covered from the neck to the base with a grand mantle which hangs on the altar, and this mantle is of gold or silver brocade according to the nature of the ceremonies. From the first this idol had neither feet nor hands, and this is how this fact is explained. After one of their prophets was taken up into heaven, when they were all plunged in tears and laments at losing him, God sent to them from heaven an angel who was like the prophet, so they treated him with great honour and respect. But while the angel was afterwards engaged in making the idol, impatience seized upon them, and they removed it to place it in the pagoda, although, as yet, it was unprovided with feet and hands. But as it was too deformed, they made hands for it of the small pearls which we call "pearls by the ounce."[1] As for the feet, they cannot be seen, being concealed under the mantle. There is nothing left uncovered save the hands and face; the head and body are made of sandal wood.[2] Around the elevated dome in which the idol is seated, from the base up to the top, there are numerous niches containing other images, the majority of which represent

[1] Seed pearls, *aljofar* of the Portuguese. (See p. 118.)

[2] Jagannáth was a centre of Buddhism before it fell into Brahminical hands, and it has been suggested that the shapeless idol was some symbol belonging to the former which was adopted by the latter. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 355.)

hideous monsters, and they are made of stone of various colours. On each side of this great pagoda there are other much smaller ones where the pilgrims make their smallest offerings, and those who, on account of sickness or in their business, have made a vow to some god, take there an image or semblance of the object in memory of the benefit which they believe they have received.[1] This idol is anointed every day with scented oils which make him quite black. He has on his right hand his sister who is called *Sotora*, who is also represented standing and clothed; and on his left his brother, also clothed, who is called *Balbader*.[2] In front of the great idol, somewhat to the left, his wife is to be seen, who is called *Kemui*,[3] she is of massive gold, and represented standing, the three others are made of sandal wood.

The two other pagodas are intended for the residence of the chief *Brahmin*, or High Priest, and the other priests who serve in the great pagoda. All these *Brahmins* go about with bare heads, and the majority are shaved, having for sole garment a piece of cloth, a part of which wraps round the body, and the remainder is worn like a scarf. Near the pagoda the tomb of one of their prophets, named CABIR,[4] to whom they do great honour, is to be seen. It should be remarked that all these idols are on a kind of altar surrounded by gratings, for no one is allowed to touch

[1] A similar custom is followed in some Catholic countries of Europe.

[2] The names are *Subhadrá* and *Balarámá*.

[3] I don't know who this stands for. *Rukmini* was one of *Krishna's* wives, but her image, according to Ward, was never represented with her spouse, nor indeed were those of any of his lawful wives.

[4] Possibly for Kabir, a Fakir or Saint, who flourished about the close of the fifteenth century. (See Forbes's *Hindustani Dictionary*, s.v. *Kabir*.)

them, with the exception of certain *Brahmins* appointed by the High Priest for that purpose.

I come to the pagoda of BENARES, which, after that of JAGANNÁTH, is the most famous in all INDIA, with which it is even, as it were, on a par, being also built on the margin of the GANGES,[1] and in the town of which it bears the name. The most remarkable thing about it is that from the door of the pagoda to the river there is a descent by stone steps, where there are at intervals platforms and small, rather dark, chambers, some of which serve as dwellings for the *Brahmins*, and others as kitchens where they prepare their food. For after the idolaters have bathed, and have gone to pray and make their offerings in the pagoda, they prepare their food without any one but themselves touching it, through the fear they have lest any one who approached it might be unclean. But above all things, they ardently desire to drink the water of the GANGES, because, as soon as they have drunk it, they believe, as I have said, that they are cleansed from all their sins. Every day large numbers of these *Brahmins* are to be seen going to the clearest part of the river to fill this water into round, small-mouthed, earthen pots, which hold about a bucketful. When they are full they are taken to the chief priest, who directs the mouth to be covered with a very fine cloth of fire-colour, in three or four folds, upon which he applies his seal. The *Brahmins* carry this water at the end of a stick, which is flat like a lath, from which hang six small cords, and to each of them one of these pots is attached. They rest themselves by changing the

[1] Here the mistake about Jagannáth being on the Ganges (see p. 225, *n.*) is repeated, as it is also elsewhere in following pages.

shoulder frequently, and they sometimes travel three or four hundred leagues of country with this load,[1] and then sell it, or make a present of it, but only to the richest persons, from whom they expect a liberal reward. There are some of these Idolaters who, when they celebrate any festival — especially when their children are married—drink this water at a cost of 400 or 500 *écus*. It is only drunk at the end of the repast, as we drink hypocras or muscat in EUROPE, each (guest) receiving a cup, or two, according to the liberality of the host. The principal reason why this water of the GANGES is so highly esteemed, is, that it never becomes bad, and engenders no vermin; but I do not know whether we should believe what is said about this, taking into consideration the number of bodies which are constantly being thrown into the GANGES.[2]

Returning to the pagoda at BENARES.[3] The building is in the figure of a cross, like all the other pagodas, having its four arms equal. In the middle a lofty dome rises like a kind of tower with many sides, which terminates in a point, and at the end of each arm of the

[1] This is what is known as a *banghy* in India. I have seen men accustomed to carrying weights in this way, when on occasion they have only a load for one end, make up an equipoise of a stone or clod of earth for the other. A similar carrying-stick is used in China. Formerly, if not still, troops of these water-carriers were to be seen on the Grand Trunk road, which, when I saw it first in the year 1864, afforded a scene of much animation and interest.

[2] The reader will do well not to believe this story, but rather to conclude that much of the water when drunk is in a very unwholesome condition, and is the cause of disease.

[3] Probably the indications given of this temple may be sufficient to those with local knowledge to identify it. I can only suggest doubtfully that it is either the Bisheswar (or Golden temple of Siva), or the temple of Bhaironáth. See Sherring's *Sacred City of the Hindus*, p. 61.

cross another tower rises, which can be ascended from outside. Before reaching the top you meet several balconies and many niches, which project to intercept the fresh air; and all over the tower there are figures in relief of various kinds of animals, which are rudely executed. Under this great dome, and exactly in the middle of the pagoda, there is an altar like a kind of table, of 7 to 8 feet in length, and 5 to 6 wide, with two steps in front, which serve as a footstool, and this footstool is covered by a beautiful tapestry, sometimes of silk and sometimes of gold and silk, according to the solemnity of the ceremony which is being celebrated. The altar is covered with gold or silver brocade, or some beautiful painted cloth. From outside the pagoda this altar faces you with the idols which are upon it; for the women and girls must salute it from the outside, as they are not allowed to enter the pagoda, save only those of a certain tribe. Among the idols on the great altar there is one standing which is 5 or 6 feet in height; neither the arms, legs, nor trunk are seen, the head and neck only being visible; all the remainder of the body, down to the altar, is covered by a robe which increases in width below. Sometimes on its neck there is to be seen a rich chain of gold, rubies, pearls, or emeralds. This idol has been made in honour and after the likeness of BAINMADOU,[1] who was formerly a great and holy personage among them, whose name they often have on their lips. On the right side of the altar there is also to be seen the figure of an animal, or rather of a chimera, seeing that it represents in part an elephant, in part a horse, and in

[1] This looks like Bhim Mahádeba—a combination of names for Siva.

part a mule. It is of massive gold, and is called *Garou*,[1] no person being allowed to approach it but the *Brahmins*. It is said to be the resemblance of the animal which this holy personage rode upon when he was in the world, and that he made long journeys on it, going about to see if the people were doing their duty and not injuring any one. At the entrance of the pagoda, between the principal door and the great altar, there is to the left a small altar, upon which an idol made of black marble is to be seen, seated, with the legs crossed, and about two feet high. When I was there it had near it, on the left, a small boy, who was son of the chief priest, and all the people who came there threw him pieces of *taffeta*, or brocaded cloth like handkerchiefs, with which he wiped the idol and then returned them to their owners. Others threw him chains made of beads like small nuts, which have a naturally sweet scent, which these idolaters wear on their necks and use to repeat their prayers over each bead. Others also throw chains of coral, others of yellow amber, others fruits and flowers. Finally, with everything which is thrown to the chief *Brahmin's* child he wipes the idol and makes him kiss it, and afterwards, as I have just said, returns it to the people. This idol is called MORLI RAM,[2] that is to say, the God Morli, brother of the idol on the great altar.

Under the principal entrance of the pagoda one of the chief *Brahmins* is to be seen seated, close to whom is a large dish full of yellow pigment mixed with water.

[1] Siva's Bull? The *garou* is possibly *gáo*, a cow, *nar gáo* being a bull. Perhaps, however, the chimera was a representation of the sacred bird *Garuda*.

[2] Morli Ram has not been identified.

All the poor idolaters come one after the other to present themselves to him, and he anoints their foreheads with some of this colour, which is continued down between the eyes and on to the end of the nose, then on the arms and in front of the chest; and it is by these marks that those who have bathed in the GANGES are distinguished. Those who only bathe in their dwellings (for they are all obliged to bathe before eating, and even before cooking), those, I say, who have only bathed in well-water, or in water brought from the river, are not properly purified, and in consequence cannot be anointed with this colour. It may be remarked that the idolaters, according to their castes, are anointed with different colours; and in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, those who are anointed with yellow belong to the most important tribe, and are the least impure. For, when attending to the ordinary necessities of nature, the others content themselves with carrying a pot of water to wash themselves with, but these always use a handful of sand, with which having first rubbed themselves, they afterwards wash. So that they can say their bodies are clean, that no impurity remains, and they may then take their food without fear.

Adjoining this great pagoda, on the side which faces the setting sun at midsummer, there is a house which serves as a college, which the *Raja* JAI SINGH,[1] the most powerful of the idolatrous princes, who was then in the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, has founded for the education of the youth of good families. I saw the children of this Prince, who were being educated there, and had as teachers several *Brahmins*, who

[1] At a later period than this, namely 1693, Jai Singh erected the famous observatory at Benares.

taught them to read and write in a language which is reserved to the priests of the idols,[1] and is very different from that spoken by the people. Having entered the court of this college, being curious to see it, and throwing my eyes upwards, I perceived a double gallery which ran all round it, and in the lower one these two Princes were seated, accompanied by many young nobles and numerous *Brahmins*, who were making different figures, like those of mathematics, on the ground with chalk. As soon as I entered, these Princes sent to inquire who I was, and having learnt that I was a Frenchman they invited me to ascend, when they asked me many things about EUROPE, and especially about FRANCE. One of the *Brahmins* had two globes, which the Dutch had given him, and I pointed out the position of FRANCE upon them. After some conversation of this kind they presented me with *betel;* and before I took leave I asked the *Brahmins* at what hour I should be able to see the pagoda open. Having told me to come on the following morning a little before sunrise, I did not fail to be at the same house by that time, where the *Raja* had caused a pagoda to be built on the left of the entrance. In front of the door there is to be seen, as it were, a gallery sustained by pillars, where many people were already assembled—men, women, and children—awaiting the opening of the door. When the gallery and a part of the court are full of people, eight *Brahmins* approach, four on each side of the door of the pagoda, each carrying a censer; and there are many other *Brahmins* who make a great noise with drums and other instruments. The two oldest of the *Brahmins* chant a canticle, and all the people, after

[1] Sanskrit.

they have intoned it, repeat the same while singing and playing instruments, each one waving a peacock's tail, or other kind of fan, to drive away the flies; so that when the door of the pagoda is opened the idol may not be inconvenienced by them. All this fanning and music lasted a good half-hour, then the two principal *Brahmins* began to sound two large bells three times, and, with a kind of small mallet, they then knocked at the door. At the same moment it was opened by six *Brahmins*, who were inside the pagoda, and 7 or 8 paces from the door an altar was to be seen with an idol upon it, which is called RAM KAM, who is the sister of MORLI RAM. She has on her right a child in the form of CUPID, who is known as the god LAKSHMI, and on her left arm she carries a small girl called the goddess SITA. As soon as the door of the pagoda was opened, and after a large curtain had been drawn, and the people present had seen the idol, all threw themselves on the ground, placing their hands upon their heads and prostrating themselves three times; then having risen they threw a quantity of bouquets and chains in form of chaplets, which the *Brahmins* placed in contact with the idol, and then returned to the people. An old *Brahmin* who was in front of the altar, held in his hand a lamp with nine lighted wicks, upon which, from time to time, he threw a kind of incense when approaching the lamp towards the idol. All these ceremonies lasted about an hour, after which the people retired, and the pagoda was closed. The people presented the idol with a quantity of rice, flour, butter, oil, and milk, of which the *Brahmins* let nothing be lost. As this idol has the form of a woman, all the women invoke her, and regard her as their patron; this is the

reason why (the temple) is always crowded with women and children.

The *Raja*, in order to have this idol in the pagoda of his house and to get it from the great pagoda, has expended in gifts to the *Brahmins* and in alms to the poor more than five *lakhs* (500,000) of rupees, which make 750,000 *livres*[1] of our money.

On the other side of the street in which this College is situated, there is another pagoda called RICHOURDAS, from the name of the idol on the altar inside, and lower down on another small altar is the idol whom they call GOUPALDAS,[2] brother of this RICHOURDAS. Only the faces of these idols, which are made of stone or wood, are exposed to view. They are black as jet, with the exception of the image of MORLI RAM, which is in the great pagoda and is uncovered. As for the idol RAM KAM, which is in the pagoda of the *Raja*, it has two diamonds in the eyes which this Prince has had placed there, together with a large necklace of pearls, and a canopy sustained by four silver pillars over its head.

At eight days' journey from BENARES, due northwards, a mountainous country[3] is entered, which in the intervals has beautiful plains sometimes 2 to 3 leagues wide. They are very fertile, producing corn, rice, and vegetables, but that which injures and ruins the people of this country is the abundance of elephants[4] which eat a considerable proportion of the vegetables and grain. If a caravan of travellers passes through this country where there are no *caravansaráis*, as they are compelled to camp in the open

[1] £56,250.
[2] *Gopala.*
[3] The Sivalik ranges.
[4] See p. 262.

fields, they have much trouble in defending themselves during the night from the elephants which often come to carry away the food. In order to prevent them the travellers light fires, fire numerous musket-shots, and from time to time some of them cry with all their might, and make a great noise to frighten these animals.

In this country there is another pagoda, well-built and very ancient, and ornamented within and without with many figures, which are representations of girls and women only. Men never go there to worship, and on that account it is called the girls' pagoda. It has an altar in the middle like the other pagodas, and upon this altar there is an idol of massive gold about 4 feet high, which represents a girl, standing, whom they call RAM MARION.[1] She has on her right a child, standing, made of massive silver, and nearly 2 feet in height, and it is said that this girl living a holy life, the infant was taken to her by the *Brahmins* to learn her creed and how to live well; but at the end of three or four years, during which the child had dwelt with the girl, it became so clever and accomplished that all the *Rajas* and Princes of the country wished for it, and, at last, one of them carried it off one night and it has not since been seen. This idol has on her left, at the base of the altar, another idol representing an old man, whom they say had been the servant of RAM MARION and the child, and the *Brahmins* pay great reverence to this idol. They come to it but once a year for worship, and it is necessary for them to arrive on a prescribed day, which is the first day of the moon in November, because the pagoda is only

[1] Marana, goddess of death, a form of Kali.

opened at full moon. During the fifteen days which intervene all the pilgrims, both men and women, must fast from time to time, wash their bodies three times every day, without leaving a single hair in whatever place it may be, all being easily removed by the use of a certain earth with which they rub themselves.[1]

[1] A preparation of lime is sometimes used for this purpose.

CHAPTER XII

Continuation of the description of the principal Pagodas of the Idolaters of India

AFTER the pagodas of JAGANNÁTH and BENARES, the most considerable used to be that of MUTTRA,[1] at about 18 *coss* from AGRA, on the road to DELHI. It is one of the most sumptuous buildings in all INDIA, and was the place where there was formerly the greatest concourse of pilgrims; but at present scarcely any are to be seen there, the idolaters having gradually lost the devotion which they had for this pagoda, since the river JUMNA, which used to pass close to it, has changed its course, and now flows half a league away. For when pilgrims have bathed in the river it takes them too much time to return to the pagoda, and during that time they may encounter something which renders them impure and unclean. Although this pagoda, which is very large, is in a hollow, one sees it from more than 5 or 6 *coss* distance, the building being very elevated and very magnificent. The stones which

[1] Matura in the original (see Book I, chap. vii, and Book III, chap. xi.) The Antiquities of Muttra, or, as it is also called, Mathurá, have been very fully described by Mr. Growse. The temple on the platform described by Tavernier was probably what is known as the Idgah or Katra. "It has been identified with the site of the ancient Buddhist monastery of Upagupta, and marks one of the oldest religious spots in India." (*Imperial Gazetteer*, Art. "Muttra," vol. x, p. 53.)

were used in its construction are of a red colour, and are obtained from a large quarry near AGRA. They split like our slates, and some of them, which are 15 feet long and 9 or 10 feet wide, are not six fingers in thickness, that is to say, they split according to wish, and as may be required; beautiful columns are made of them also. The fortress of AGRA, the walls of JAHÁNÁBÁD, the house of the King, the two mosques, and some houses of the great nobles are built of the same stone.[1]

Returning to the pagoda, it is seated on a great platform of octagonal shape faced over with cut stone, around which there are two courses of animals, chiefly monkeys, carved in relief. One of the courses is only 2 feet from the ground floor, and the other 2 feet from the level of the platform. It is ascended by two staircases of fifteen or sixteen steps each, the steps being only 2 feet long, so that two persons are unable to ascend side by side. One of these staircases leads to the great gate of the pagoda, and the other behind the choir. But the pagoda occupies scarcely half the platform, the other half serving as a grand area in front. Its form is that of a cross, like those of the other pagodas, and in the middle there rises a lofty dome, with two others a little smaller which are at the sides. On the exterior of the building, from base to summit, numerous figures of animals are to be seen, such as rams, monkeys, and elephants, carved in stone,

[1] For an account of these sandstones, which are derived from the Vindhyan formation, reference may be made to the chapter on Building Stones in the *Economic Geology of India*. Tavernier's statements as to the fissile character and the large size of the pieces which can be obtained, are quite accurate. One of the most remarkable, though not the most successful uses to which they have been put in modern times is in the manufacture of telegraph-wire posts. Latterly these have, I think, been replaced by metal posts.

and all round are niches where there are different monsters. From the foot of each of the three domes up to the summits, at intervals, there are windows from 5 to 6 feet high, and at each a kind of balcony where four persons can sit. Each balcony is covered by a small canopy, and some are sustained by four columns, others by eight, but then they are in pairs and in contact with one another. Around these domes there are also niches full of figures which represent demons, one having four arms, another four legs; some of them have the heads of men on the bodies of beasts, with horns and long tails which twine round their legs. There are, finally, numerous images of monkeys, and it is a terrible thing to have before the eyes so many ugly representations. The pagoda has but one door, which is very high, and on both sides there are many columns and images of men and monsters. The choir is enclosed by a barricade made of stone columns of 5 to 6 inches in diameter, and no one may enter these except the principal *Brahmins*, who have access by a small secret door which I could not see. When at this pagoda I asked some *Brahmins* who were there if I might see the great RÁM RÁM, that is to say the great idol. They replied that if I gave them something they would go to ask leave of their Superior; this they did as soon as I had placed two rupees in their hands. I had not waited half an hour till the *Brahmins* opened a door which is inside the middle of the barricade (for on the outside there is none, the barricade itself being closed). I saw across it, at about 15 or 16 feet from the door, as it were a square altar covered with an old brocade of gold and silver, and on it the great idol which they call RÁM RÁM. Only the head, which is of

black marble, can be seen, and he has for eyes what appear to be two rubies. All the body from the neck to the feet is covered by a robe of red velvet with some embroidery, and the arms cannot be seen. There are two other idols beside him of 2 feet in height or thereabouts; they are arranged in the same manner, save that they have the faces white, and they are called BECCHOR.[1] I also saw in this pagoda a machine of 15 to 16 feet square and about 12 to 15 feet high, covered with painted calicoes which represent all kinds of demons. This machine was supported on four small wheels, and I was told that it was the portable altar, whereon their great god is placed on the solemn days when he goes to visit the other gods, and is taken to the river by the people on the occasion of their principal festival.

The fourth pagoda is that of TIRUPATI,[2] in the province of CARNATIC, towards the COROMANDEL coast and CAPE COMORIN. I went to see it when going from MASULIPATAM to GANDIKOT[3] to join the *Nawáb* MIR JUMLÁ. It is a large pagoda, surrounded by numerous small ones, and by many dwellings for the *Brahmins;* this makes it appear like a town. It has around it many tanks, and the superstition is so great that a passer-by dare not take water from them unless a *Brahmin* give it to him.

[1] I don't know what this stands for, perhaps *beta*, a son.

[2] *Tripeti* in the original, more correctly it is Tirupati, and is commonly called Tripatty, situated in the District of North Arcot. In some respects it is regarded as the most sacred temple in Madras. The principal temple is at Tirumala, 6 miles distant. From all parts of India pilgrims flock there, bearing large offerings with them.

[3] *Indecote* in the original. In Book I, chap. xviii, p. 272 of vol. i, Tavernier gives his route between Madras and Gandikot, when he saw this temple. There he calls it, however, *Courua.*

CHAPTER XIII

Concerning the pilgrimages of the Idolaters to their pagodas

ALL the idolaters who are subjects of the GREAT MOGUL and other Princes on either side of the GANGES, at least once in their lives make a pilgrimage to perform their devotion at one of the four pagodas which I have named, and most commonly to that of JAGANNÁTH, it being the principal and most considerable of all. The *Brahmins* and rich people make this pilgrimage oftener than once, some making it every four years, others every six or every eight years, when, placing the idols of their pagodas in litters they accompany their *Brahmins* in procession to the pagoda for which they have most reverence; but it is most frequently, as I have said, to that of JAGANNÁTH, and also to that of BENARES, because both are on the GANGES, the water of which is held in special veneration by them.

These pilgrimages are not made, as in EUROPE, one by one, or two by two, but the population of a town or of several villages assemble in order to travel together in company. The poor who come from afar, sometimes 300 or 400 leagues, and who, with all the savings which they have accumulated for that purpose during their

lives are unable to sustain the expenses of the journey, are assisted by the rich, who expend very great sums in such alms. Each one travels according to his station and means, some in *pallankeens* or litters, others in carriages; and the poor, some on foot and others on oxen, the mother carrying her child, and the father the cooking utensils.

The god whom they carry in procession from the place they are leaving, in order that he may visit and pay the respect which he owes to the great RÁM RÁM, reposes at full length in a rich *pallankeen* covered with gold brocade with silver fringes, the mattress and cushion of the same material being under the head, feet, and elbows, as we see in the effigies on our tombs. The *Brahmins* distribute among the most important persons in the troop fans with handles 7 or 8 feet long, and covered with plates of gold and silver, the fan being at the end in the form of a kiln-shovel of 2 to 3 feet in diameter, and covered with the same brocade as the *pallankeens*. It is surrounded with peacock feathers, and makes a great current of air; to it bells are sometimes attached to give a kind of music, and there are generally five or six of these fans for driving away the flies from the face of the idol; those who carry them take turns from time to time, like those who carry the *pallankeens*, so that many may share in this honourable task. This custom should not appear more strange to us than that which I have seen practised in SAXONY, and in many other parts of GERMANY, where, while a funeral oration for a man or a woman is delivered in the church, the body reposes at full length on a bier which is uncovered, and the people on both sides fan it constantly, when it is

summer time, to drive away the flies attracted to the face of the defunct, who has then no more power of feeling than an idol.

In the year 1653, being on the road from GOLCONDA to SURAT with M. D'ARDILLIÉRE, of whom I have elsewhere spoken, we met near DAULATÁBÁD more than 2000 persons, including men, women, and children, who came from the direction of TATTA[1] with their idol, which they carried in a rich *pallankeen*, on their way to visit the great idol of the pagoda at TIRUPATI. This idol was laid on a mattress of red crimson velvet, and the covering and cushions were of the same stuff. The bamboo or stick which served to carry the *pallankeen* was covered with gold and silver brocade, and no one except the *Brahmins* had permission to approach it. We saw this long procession pass, and it was not without feeling much compassion for the blindness of these poor people.

[Here are the figures of the most famous idols, which I had the curiosity to have drawn on the spot.[2]]

[1] M. Joret (*t.c.* p. 131) is I think mistaken in assuming that this occasion of meeting pilgrims is identical with one described in vol. i, p. 296, it having taken place in the year 1652 at *Emelipata*, *i.e.* Vamulpetta, a stage between Gandikot and Golconda. He adds as a further mistake of Tavernier's that M. d'Ardilliére had died before 1653. (See Preface.) As we know that Tavernier went back to Golconda in 1653, and was in Surat in 1654, he may very possibly have met the pilgrims exactly as he says, when on his return towards the end of 1653.

[2] These figures are not given in any of the editions which I have seen. Probably they were never reproduced.

CHAPTER XIV

Concerning various customs of the Idolaters of INDIA

THE *Brahmins* possess much knowledge of astrology, and know how to predict eclipses of the sun and moon for the people. On the 2d of July 1666 at one o'clock P.M. an eclipse of the sun was visible at PATNA, a town of the Kingdom of BENGAL. It was a wonderful thing to see the multitude of people, men, women, and children, who came from all quarters to bathe in the GANGES. But they must begin this bathing three days before they see the eclipse, during which time they remain day and night on the banks of the river in order to prepare all kinds of rice, milk, and sweetmeats to throw to the fishes and crocodiles which are in the river. Immediately on the *Brahmins* giving the word, when they know it is the fortunate hour, whatever kind of eclipse it may be, whether of the sun or moon, the idolaters are accustomed to break all the earthen vessels used in their households, and not to leave one piece whole—this causes a terrible noise in a town.

Every *Brahmin* has his book of magic, in which there are a number of circles and semicircles, of squares and triangles, and many other kinds of figures. They draw divers figures on the ground, and when they perceive that the fortunate hour has arrived they all

unite in crying aloud to the people to throw food into the GANGES. A terrible noise is then made with drums, bells, and large disks made of similar metal to that of our cymbals, which they strike one against the other; and as soon as the food is thrown into the river all the people should enter and continue rubbing themselves, and bathing their bodies until the eclipse is over. As this eclipse appeared at a time when the GANGES is usually very low, after the end of the rains, which last from the month of July to the end of October, for more than 3 leagues above and below the town, and as many as the river extends in width, nothing was to be seen but heads on the water. As for the *Brahmins*, they remain on land to receive the richest and those who give them most, to dry their bodies, and give them dry clothes to cover the middle of their bodies. Then they make them sit in chairs, where the richest of the idolaters have brought an abundance of Indian corn, rice, and all kinds of vegetables, with milk, butter, sugar, flour, and wood. Before each chair the *Brahmin* makes a very clean place of about 5 or 6 feet square, after which he takes cattle droppings steeped in a great dish of yellow pigment, in order to rub over all the place, through fear lest some ant might come there and be burnt. If possible, their ceremonies are conducted without burning wood, and in order to cook their food they generally use cattle droppings. When they are obliged to use wood they take care that it has no maggots nor other insects inside it, through fear, as I have elsewhere remarked, because of their belief in the transmigration of souls into different bodies, that there may be the soul of a relative or friend burnt with this small animal. In this

place which they have cleaned so well, they trace many kinds of figures, as triangles and half triangles, ovals and half ovals, these they make with powdered chalk. On each figure they place a little cow-dung, with two or three small branches of wood, which they rub well for fear any insect should be contained in them; and on these branches they place on one wheat, another rice, on the others vegetables, and all the kinds of food which they have. Then, having thrown on each heap a quantity of butter, and having set fire to them, according to the appearance of the flames they conclude whether there will be in that year an abundant harvest of corn, rice, and so with the rest.

At the March full moon there is a solemn festival for the idol which has the form of a serpent, of which I have spoken in the first Book of this account of INDIA.[1] This festival lasts nine days, and while it lasts both men and beasts remain idle; the majority of the latter are ornamented with circles of vermilion around the eyes, with which the horns are also painted, and when there is any special love for the animal leaves of tinsel are added. Each morning the idol is worshipped, the girls dancing round it for an hour to the sound of flutes and drums, after which all eat together and enjoy themselves till the evening, when they again worship the idol and dance round it a second time.

Although it is not the usual custom of the idolaters to use any kind of drink, nevertheless during this festival they drink palm wine, and, in villages far removed from the great routes, a spirit made from the same wine, because the Muhammadan governors do not allow them to make it, nor to sell wine brought from

[1] Snake worship. See Book I, chap. iii, p. 42.

PERSIA or elsewhere. The spirit is made in this way—In large earthen vessels, glazed inside, which are called *martabans*,[1] and are of different sizes, and hold as much as 300 PARIS pints of palm wine, they place 50 or 60 pounds of black sugar—which is unrefined, and looks like yellow wax—with about 20 pounds of a thick black bark of a kind of thorn,[2] very like that which our tanners use in Europe to tan their leather. This bark serves to make the palm wine ferment; this it does in four or five days like our new wine, so that the sweetness changes into sourness equal to that of our wild pears. The whole is then distilled, and, according to the flavour which is wished for, there is thrown into a kettleful either a small bag of cloves, or three or four handfuls of aniseed or mace, large chaldrons serving for the distillation. This spirit can be made of whatever strength is desired. One day, having taken the fancy to distil some for myself, I filled ten of those bottles which come from ENGLAND, the glass of which is of the thickness of a white crown (*écu blanc*); they hold about 4 pints, PARIS measure, each, and are used for wines which it is desired to keep. But during the night the spirit having effervesced in the bottles I found them all cracked in the morning by the strength of the liquor.

When I was at AGRA in the year 1642 a somewhat strange thing happened. An idolater called VOLDAS, who was broker to the Dutch, and was about seventy years old, received news that the chief priest of the pagoda of MUTTRA was dead. Immediately he went to

[1] *Martavane* in the original. This name was given to large vessels of glazed pottery, which were made in Martaban, and thence largely exported. A number of examples of its use will be found in the *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 428.

[2] *Kutch?* *Acacia catechu* (Willd.)

see the Chief of the Dutch factory to ask him to examine his accounts and close them, because, as he said, their Chief Priest being dead he also wished to die, to serve that holy man in the other world. As soon as his accounts had been examined he entered his carriage accompanied by some relatives who followed him, and as he had neither eaten nor drunk since he had received the news, he died on the road, having refused to take any food.

The idolaters of INDIA observe this custom, that when any one yawns they crack their fingers, while crying out many times *Ginarami*,[1] that is to say, remember NARAMI, who passes among the idolaters as a great saint. This cracking of the fingers is done, it is said, to prevent any evil spirit entering into the body of the yawner.

When I was at SURAT in the year 1653 one of the soldiers called *Rájputs*, who had upon his horse two or three pieces of cloth, was brought before the Governor to be made pay duty on them. The *Rájput* in a firm tone of voice asked the Governor boldly, if a soldier who had served the King all his life ought to pay duty on two or three miserable pieces of calico which were not worth more than 4 or 5 rupees, and said they were to clothe his wife and children. The Governor, stung by this discourse, called him *bethico*, that is to say, son of a strumpet,[2] adding that

[1] *Jái! Nárain*, a name of Vishnu, with the exclamatory prefix *Jái!* signifying 'victory to.' Though the custom referred to is well known, its object being, as stated, to prevent evil spirits taking advantage of the involuntarily open mouth in order to obtain an entrance into the body of the yawner, I cannot find any reference to a detailed account of it.

[2] This is not an exact translation of the term, but may be allowed to pass as such here.

even if he were a Prince he would make him pay the King's due. Then the soldier, exasperated by this abuse, made as though to take out the money to pay what was demanded, and advancing towards the Governor gave him seven or eight stabs of his dagger in the stomach, from which he died, and the soldier was at once hacked to pieces by the attendants.

Although these idolaters are in the depths of blindness as to a knowledge of the true God, that does not prevent them from living in many respects, according to nature, morally well. When married they are rarely unfaithful to their wives, adultery is very rare among them, and one never hears unnatural crime spoken of.[1] They marry their children at the age of seven or eight years, through fear lest they should abandon themselves to this crime. And, in a few words, these are the ceremonies which are observed at their marriages. On the eve of the nuptials the bridegroom, accompanied by all his relatives, goes to the house of the bride with a pair of large bracelets two fingers in thickness, but hollow inside, and in two pieces, with a hinge in the middle to open them by. According to the wealth of the bridegroom these bracelets are more or less costly, being of gold, silver, brass or tin,[2] those of the poorest being of lead only. The bridegroom having arrived, places one of these bracelets on each leg of his bride, to indicate that he holds her thenceforward enchained, and that she can never leave him. On the morrow the feast is prepared in the house of the bridegroom, where all the relatives on either side

[1] This testimony is very different from that given by some other writers of the same period as Tavernier.

[2] *Leton* and *estain* in the original.

are present, and at 3 P.M. the bride is brought. Several *Brahmins* are there too, and their Chief, making the head of the bridegroom approach that of the bride, pronounces several words while sprinkling water on both their heads and bodies. Then on plates or on large leaves of the fig tree[1] many kinds of food and pieces of stuff and calico are brought. The *Brahmin* asks the bridegroom if in proportion as God gives to him whether he will share with his wife, and if he will strive to support her by his labour. When he has said yes, all the guests seat themselves at the feast which has been prepared for them, and where each one eats apart. According to the wealth of the bridegroom and the credit he enjoys with great persons, the nuptials are celebrated with pomp and great expenditure. He is seated on an elephant and his bride in a carriage, all who accompany them having torches in their hands. He borrows, moreover, for this ceremony from the Governor of the place and from other great nobles among his friends as many elephants as he can, together with show horses, and they march about thus for a part of the night with fireworks, which are thrown in the streets and open spaces. But one of the principal outlays is in the GANGES water,[2] for those who are sometimes 300 or 400 leagues distant from the river; for as this water is considered sacred, and is drunk from religious motives, it has to be brought from a great distance by the *Brahmins* in earthen vessels glazed inside, which the Grand *Brahmin* of JAGANNÁTH has himself filled with the cleanest water in the river,[3] and has subsequently placed his seal upon it. This

[1] That is to say, the plantain (see vol. i, p. 247, and vol. ii, p. 4).
[2] See p. 231. [3] See p. 230.

water is not given except at the end of the repast, as I have before said; for each of the guests three or four cupfuls are poured out, and the more of it the bridegroom gives them to drink so is he esteemed the more generous and magnificent. As this water comes from so far, and the Chief *Brahmin* charges a certain tax on each pot, which is round and holds about as much as one of our buckets, there is sometimes 2000 or 3000 rupees worth of it consumed at a wedding.

On the 8th of April, when I was in BENGAL at a town called MALDAH,[1] the idolaters made a great feast which is peculiar to the inhabitants of that place. They all leave the town and attach hooks of iron to the branches of trees, to which many of these poor people hook themselves, some by the sides and others by the middle of the back. These hooks enter their bodies, and they remain suspended, some for an hour and others for two, till the weight of the body drags the flesh, when they are compelled to retire.[2] It is a surprising thing not to see a drop of blood come from this cut flesh, and not to see a sign of it even on the hook, and in two days they are entirely cured by the drugs which the *Brahmins* give them. There are others at this festival who make beds for themselves with points of iron and lie upon them; these points enter

[1] *Malde* in the original. See Book I, chap. viii, p. 134. Maldah is a well-known town at the junction of the Kalindri and Mahanadi rivers in the District of the same name in Bengal. Formerly it was a port and centre of manufactures, but is not now important.

[2] This is the so-called *Charak puja* or swinging festival, now forbidden in British India. On one occasion, in the Rájmahal hills, a deputation of Sonthâls waited on me to ask for my intercession with the Government to permit its resumption, on the ground that their neglected deities, out of revenge, caused injury to their families and flocks.

very far into the flesh, and while both are doing these penances their relatives and friends bring them presents, as *betel*, money, or pieces of calico. When the penance is accomplished the penitent takes all these presents and distributes them to the poor, not wishing to profit by them himself. I asked some of these people wherefore they made this feast and these penances, and they said it was in memory of the first man, whom they called ADAM like us.

I shall relate also an example of a strange kind of penance which I saw when ascending the GANGES on the 12th of May 1666. A very clean place on the margin of the river had been prepared, in which one of these poor idolaters was condemned to place himself on the ground many times during the day, supported only on two hands and two feet, and kissing the ground three times before rising, without daring to touch it with the rest of his body. When he rose it was necessary for him to do so on the left foot, with the right foot in the air, and every morning during a whole moon, before drinking or eating, he was obliged to place himself in this position fifty times in succession, and consequently to kiss the ground one hundred and fifty times. I was told that the *Brahmins* had inflicted this penance on him for having allowed a cow to die in his house, not having taken it to the margin of the water according to custom, in order that it might be bathed while dying.[1]

Here is yet another somewhat curious custom. When an idolater loses a coin or a sum of gold, be it by mistake or that he has been robbed, he is bound to take as much as he has lost to the Chief *Brahmin*, and

[1] See p. 217.

if he does not do so and it gets known he is driven with ignominy out of his caste, through policy, to make people careful.

Beyond the GANGES, northwards, towards the mountains of NAGARKOT,[1] there are two or three *Rajas* who like their people believe neither in God nor devil. Their *Brahmins* have a certain book which contains their creed, and which is only filled with rubbish for which the author, who is called BAUDOU, gives no reason.[2] These Princes are vassals of the GREAT MOGUL and pay tribute to him.

Finally, for a last remark and to finish this chapter, I may say that the *Malabaris* in general carefully preserve the nails of their left hands, and allow their hair to grow like that of a woman. These nails, which are sometimes half a finger long, serve them as combs, indeed they have no others, and it is with this left hand also that they perform all impure duties, never touching their faces nor that which they eat save only with the right hand.[3] I now come to some remarks which I have made in my journeys regarding kingdoms which lie to the north-east of the territories of the GREAT MOGUL, as those of BHUTÁN, TIPPERAH, ASSAM, and SIAM, of which I believe that we

[1] *Naugrocot* in the original. Nagarkot is to a certain extent synonymous with Kangra, the capital of which is situated on the Ravi Bangangá Torrent. The name occurs in many early travels to indicate the mountainous region of the N.W. Himalayas.

[2] This is rather an unceremonious way of discussing the tenets of Buddhism. The Buddhists form a comparatively small part of the population of Kangra at present. (See *Imperial Gazetteer*, Art. "Kangra.")

[3] The Nairs of Malabar let their nails grow, according to Linschoten, to show that they are "gentlemen" and do not engage in manual labour. As is well known, the Chinese do so likewise, for the same reason. (See *Voyage of Van Linschoten*, in Hak. Society, vol. i, p. 282.)

Europeans have not much knowledge; and I would also speak of the Kingdom of TONQUIN, if I did not know that two different authors have filled two volumes with it.

[1] In his third volume Tavernier gives an account of Tonquin, or Tunquin as he calls it. I have not tested it, but in the opinion of some critics it is very inaccurate. Our author's reputation would stand higher if he had limited his descriptions to places of which he had personal knowledge.

CHAPTER XV

Concerning the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, *from whence comes musk, good rhubarb, and some furs*

THE Kingdom of BHUTÁN is of very wide extent, but we have not been able to acquire an exact knowledge of it as yet. This is what I have ascertained during several journeys which I have made in INDIA, from people of the country who come from it to trade; but I was better informed regarding it on the last occasion than I had been previously, as I was at PATNA, the largest town in BENGAL and the most famous for trade—at the time that the merchants of BHUTÁN arrive to sell their musk. During the two months I spent there I bought to the extent of 26,000 rupees worth of musk, an *once* (Fr.) in the capsule costing me 4 *livres* and 4 *sols* of our money, and out of the capsule at the rate of 8 *francs*,[1] and were it not for the custom duties which have to be paid in INDIA, as well as in EUROPE, there would be a great profit to be made on it. The best kind of rhubarb[2] also comes from the Kingdom of BHUTÁN; the same country produces also the seed which yields

[1] See Book II, chap. xxiv, p. 146, for another account of this purchase, and a comparison showing the discrepancy. Here for *francs* we should probably read *livres*.

[2] See p. 260.

worm powder,[1] and other kinds of drugs, and from thence also beautiful furs are brought. But as for rhubarb, you risk much in its carriage, by whatever road you take it; for if you go by the north towards KABUL the damp spoils it, and if you take the southern direction, as the way is long, the rains which may supervene are still more to be feared, so that there is no kind of merchandise which is more subject to be spoilt, and requires more care than it does.

As for musk, during the hot season the merchant does not make any profit by it, because it becomes dry and loses weight. Upon this article 25 per cent duty has generally to be paid at GORAKHPUR,[2] the frontier town of the territories of the GREAT MOGUL in the direction of the Kingdom of BHUTÁN,[3] although they extend 5 or 6 leagues farther. When Indian merchants arrive in that town they call on the customs officer, and tell him that they are going to the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, one to buy musk, another rhubarb, and they make declarations of the sums which they intend to expend, these the customs officer enters in his register with the names of the merchants. Then the merchants,

[1] This is probably a species of *Artemisia—A. maritima* (Var)? It is the *Flores cinæ*, or *Semen cinæ*, or *Santonica* of the pharmacopœias. Most of it which reaches Europe comes through Russia, but the drug now to be found in Indian bazaars is similar, consisting of the small unopened flower heads. It is found in great abundance on the steppes of the Kirghiz, in the northern part of Turkestan. (See *Pharmacographia*, by Fluckiger and Hanbury. London, 1874.)

[2] *Goorochepour* in the original. Gorakhpur is the chief town of the District of the same name in the North-West Provinces. It adjoins Nepal on the north, through which territory the merchants travelled to Bhután.

[3] This geographical indication is not correct, as Northern Bengal lies nearer to Bhután; but it is evident from other references that Tavernier's knowledge of the extent and position of Bhután was vague.

instead of 25 per cent, which they ought to pay, agree for 7 or 8 per cent, and take a certificate from the customs officer or the *Kazi*, so that on their return they may not be asked for any more. If it should happen that they are unable to obtain a fair composition from the customs officer, they take a different road, which is both very long and very difficult, on account of the mountains being nearly always covered with snow, and because in the level country there are vast deserts to be traversed. They have to go up to the 60th degree of latitude, and then they turn towards the west to KÁBUL,[1] which is at the 40th, and it is in that town that the caravan divides, one portion going to BALKH,[2] and the other to GREAT TARTARY. It is where those who come from BHUTÁN barter their goods for horses, mules, and camels, for there is little money in these countries. Then these Tartars carry their goods into PERSIA, to ARDABIL,[3] and TABRIZ; this it is which makes Europeans believe that rhubarb and the seeds (*semencine*)[4] come from TARTARY. It is quite true that rhubarb comes from thence, but it is not nearly so good as that which comes from the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, as it is much more tainted, rhubarb being subject to decay at the heart. The Tartars carry away from PERSIA silken stuffs of small value which are made at TABRIZ and ARDABIL, and some English and Dutch cloths

[1] That they travelled so far north as the 60th degree is most improbable. That there was a northern route is well known, however. The true latitude of Kábul (Cabool) is only 34° 30′.

[2] *Balch* in the original. Balkh is an ancient city of Turkestan, south of the Oxus. (See vol. i, pp. 92, *n.*, and 382, *n.*)

[3] *Arduiel* in the original. Ardabil is near the Caspian, in the rugged northern province of Persia called Azerbijaun, wherein Tabriz is also included.

[4] See *ante*, p. 259.

which the Armenians bring from CONSTANTINOPLE and SMYRNA, whither they are brought from EUROPE. Those of the merchants who come from BHUTÁN and KÁBUL go to KANDAHAR and on to ISPAHAN, and they generally take back coral beads, yellow amber, and lapis wrought into beads when they can obtain them. The other merchants, returning from the regions about MULTAN, LAHORE, and AGRA, take calicoes, indigo, and an abundance of carnelian and crystal beads. Finally, those who return by GORAKHPUR, and have an understanding with the customs officer, take from PATNA and DACCA coral, yellow amber, tortoise-shell bracelets, and others of sea shells, with numerous round and square pieces of the size of our 15 *sol* coins, which are also of the same tortoise-shell and sea shells. When I was at PATNA four Armenians, who had previously made a journey to the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, came from DANTZIC, where they had had made numerous images of yellow amber, which represented all kinds of animals and monsters, these they were taking to the King of BHUTÁN to place in his pagodas, he being, like his people, exceedingly idolatrous. Wherever the Armenians see that money is to be made they have no scruple about supplying materials for the purposes of idolatry,[1] and they told me that if they had been able to get an idol made which the King had ordered from them they would have been enriched. It was a head in the form of a monster, which had six horns, four ears, and four arms, with six fingers on each hand, the whole to be of yellow amber,[2] but the

[1] Bohemia, it is said, at present sends idols made of cast glass to India, which undersell the marble images of Agra.

[2] Huge pieces of amber were employed in the manufacture of the

Armenians could not find sufficiently large pieces for the purpose. I was inclined to believe that money lacked them, for it did not appear that they had much of it; it is, however, an infamous trade to furnish the instruments of idolatry to these poor people.

Coming now to the road which must be followed from PATNA to the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, upon which the caravan spends three months.[1] It leaves PATNA generally at the end of December and arrives on the eighth day at GORAKHPUR, which, as I have said, is the last town in this direction in the territories of the GREAT MOGUL, where the merchants obtain their supplies for a portion of the journey. From GORAKHPUR to the foot of the high mountains there are still eight or nine days' marching, during which the caravan suffers much, because the whole country is full of forests, where there are numerous wild elephants,[2] and the merchants instead of sleeping at night must remain on the watch, making large fires and firing their muskets to frighten these animals. As the elephant moves without noise, he takes the people by surprise, and is close to the caravan before they are aware of it. It is not that he comes to do injury to man, for he

boxes made in the shape of geese included in the King of Burmah's treasure, which is in the South Kensington Museum.

It has been stated that the largest piece of amber ever known was recently discovered near the Nobis Gate at Altona. It weighed 850 grammes. Dr. Meyer of Dresden (*Nature*, 29th November 1888), commenting on this, says that besides smaller pieces, elsewhere, there are specimens in the Berlin Mineralogical Museum weighing 6.5 and 9.5 *kilogrammes;* they were obtained on the sea-coast of North Germany.

[1] Three months is a long time for the journey to have lasted between Patna and any portion of Bhután territory, as now known.

[2] The Tarái. It was in a part of this region that the Prince of Wales took part in the elephant captures arranged for him by Sir Jang Bahádur.

contents himself with carrying off whatever food he can seize, as a sack of rice or flour, or a pot of butter, of which there is always a large supply. One can go from PATNA to the foot of these mountains in Indian carriages or *pallankeens*, but oxen, camels, or the horses of the country are generally used. These horses are by nature so small that when a man is upon them his feet nearly touch the ground, but they are otherwise strong, and all go at an amble, doing up to 20 leagues at a stretch, and eating and drinking but little. There are some of them which cost as much as 200 *écus*,[1] and when you enter the mountains you can only use that means of carriage, it being necessary to leave behind all the others, which become useless on account of the numerous passes, which are very narrow. The horses even, though strong and small, often have difficulty in getting through, and it is for this reason, as I shall presently say, that one has recourse to other expedients for traversing these lofty mountains.

At 5 or 6 leagues beyond GORAKHPUR you enter the territories of the *Raja* of NEPAL,[2] which extend to the frontiers of the Kingdom of BHUTÁN. This Prince is a vassal of the GREAT MOGUL, and sends him an elephant every year as tribute.[3] He resides in the town of NEPAL, of which he bears the name, and there is very little trade or money in his country, as it consists of forests and mountains.

The caravan having arrived at the foot of the high mountains, known to-day by the name of NAGAR-

[1] £45, a very high price indeed for a country pony nowadays.

[2] See p. 259 *n*. It is *Nupal* in the original.

[3] The finest elephant I ever saw I met on its way down the Grand Trunk Road to Calcutta from Nepal. It was a gift from Sir Jang Bahádur to Lord Mayo.

KOT,[1] which one cannot cross in less than nine or ten days, as they are very high and narrow, with great precipices,—numerous people descend from diverse places, the majority being women and girls, who come to strike a bargain with the people of the caravan, to carry the men, goods, and provisions to the other side of the mountains. This is the method by which they carry them. The women have a strap on the shoulders to which a large cushion hanging on the back is attached; upon it the man seats himself.[2] It takes three women, who change in turns, to carry a man; and as for the baggage and provisions, they are loaded on goats which carry up to 150 *livres* weight each. Those who desire to take horses into these mountains are often obliged, in the narrow and difficult passes, to haul them up with ropes; and it is, as I have said, on account of this difficulty that but little use is made of horses in this country. They are fed only in the morning and evening. In the morning a pound of flour, half a pound of black sugar and half a pound of butter, are mixed together with water to give to the horse. In the evening it must be contented with a few horn peas, crushed and steeped in water for half an hour; in this consists all their food during the space of twenty-four hours. The women who carry the men only receive 2 rupees each, for the ten days of traverse, and as much is paid for every *quintal* that the goats or sheep carry, and for every led horse.

After passing these mountains there are to be had, for carriage to BHUTÁN, oxen, camels, and horses, and

[1] See p. 256, *n.*

[2] In some parts of the Himalayas women still offer themselves for carrying travellers on their backs.

even *pallankeens*[1] for those who wish to travel more at their ease. The country is good, and produces corn, rice, vegetables, and wine in abundance. All the people, both men and women, are clad during the summer in coarse cotton or hempen cloth, and during the winter in a thick cloth which is like felt. The headdress for both sexes is a cap made very like those English caps which they call *bouquin-kans*,[2] and it has pigs' teeth around it for ornament, with round and square pieces of tortoiseshell of the size of one of our 15 *sol* coins; the richest persons add to them beads of coral or yellow amber, of which the women also make necklaces. The men, like the women, wear bracelets on the left arms only, and from the wrist to the elbow. Those worn by the women are very narrow, but those worn by the men are two fingers wide. They wear a silken cord on the neck, to which a bead of coral or yellow amber is suspended, or a pig's tooth, which hangs down to the waist; and on their left side they have bands from whence more of these same beads of coral, amber, or pigs' teeth hang in strings. Although they are great idolaters they eat all kinds of meat, except that of the cow, which they worship as the mother and nurse of all men, and they are very fond of spirits. They also observe some of the Chinese ceremonies; for, after having fed their friends, when the repast is finished they burn yellow amber, although they do not worship fire like the Chinese. I have elsewhere given the reason why the Chinese burn

[1] Probably a modified form of *pallankeen*, suitable for hill travelling.

[2] I have not found a full explanation of the term. *Bouquin* means an old book-cover. The caps of felt worn in these regions are somewhat similar to what used to be called "pork pie" hats a few years ago in England.

amber at the conclusion of their feasts;[1] this causes this article to have a good sale in CHINA. In PATNA, even, pieces of yellow amber which are not worked, of the size of a good nut, clear and of good colour, are bought by these BHUTÁN merchants at 35 and 40 rupees the *seer*, and the *seer*, both for amber, as also for ambergris, musk, coral, rhubarb, and other drugs, is equal to 9 *onces* (Fr.) of our weight. Saltpetre, corn, rice, sugar, and other articles of food, are also sold by *seers* in BENGAL; but this *seer* is 72 of our *livres* at 16 *onces* to the *livre*, and 40 *seers* make a *maund*, which would amount to 2880 *livres* weight of PARIS.[2] When I left that country the *maund* of rice was selling for 2 rupees.

To return to the yellow amber, for a piece of a *seer* or 9 *onces* (Fr.) weight, according to its colour and beauty, from 250 to 300 rupees is paid, and the other pieces cost the same in proportion to their size and beauty.[3] Coral in the rough or worked into beads is saleable with sufficient profit, but the rough is much preferred, for this reason, that it can be cut according to their own fashion; and most frequently women and girls are employed at this work. They also make beads of crystal and agate, and the men make the bracelets of tortoiseshell and sea shells, as also those small pieces of the same shell, both round and square, of which I have spoken above.[4] All the people of the

[1] See Book II, chap. xxiii, p. 137.

[2] This is an extraordinary jumble of figures. A *seer* of 72 *livres*, 40 of which went to the *maund*, making a *maund* of 2880 *livres*, is surely due to a copyist's mistake. It is possible that a Bengal *maund* of 40 *seers* may have been equal to 72 *livres*, or more than double the Surat *maund* of 40 smaller *seers* = 34 *livres* (see vol. i, p. 418), but the statement as it stands is clearly wrong.

[3] See p. 137.

[4] See p. 261.

north, men, women, girls, and boys, suspend them from their hair and ears. There are in PATNA and DACCA more than 2000 persons who occupy themselves with these trades, all that is produced by them being exported to the Kingdoms of BHUTÁN, ASSAM, SIAM, and other countries to the north and east of the territories of the GREAT MOGUL.

As for the *semencine*,[1] or worm powder, it cannot be harvested like other grains. It is a herb which grows in the fields, and must be allowed to die, and the evil is that when it approaches maturity the wind causes a great part to fall among the herbage, where it is lost, and this it is which makes it so dear. As it cannot be touched by the hand, because it would thereby be sooner spoilt, and even when making a sample, it is collected in a porringer; when it is wished to gather what remains in the ear, the following is the method adopted: The people who collect it have two baskets with handles, and when walking in the fields they wave one of these baskets from right to left, and the other from left to right, as though they cut the herb, which nevertheless they only touch the upper part of—that is to say, the ear, and all the grain thus falls into the baskets. *Semencine* also grows in the Province of KERMAN,[2] but it is not so good as that of BHUTÁN, and there is not more of it than is required in the country itself. This grain not only serves for driving worms from the bodies of children, but the Persians and all the people who live towards the north, and even the English and Dutch, use it as aniseed to put in comfits.

As for rhubarb, it is known to be a root which is cut

[1] See p. 259.

[2] Kumaon?

in pieces, ten or twelve of them being strung together and then dried.

If the people of BHUTÁN had as much skill as the Muscovites in slaying the martin one might obtain from this country an abundance of rich furs, since there are numbers of these animals. As soon as the animal shows its head outside its hole the Muscovites, who are on the watch, shoot it without fail, generally in the nose or the eyes, for if it is shot in the body the skin will be worth nothing on account of the blood which flows from the wound, and causes the hair moistened by it to fall out.

The King of BHUTÁN always employs 7000 or 8000 men as his guard. These people are armed with the bow and arrow, and the majority also carry the axe and shield, the former having a point on one side like a war mace. It is a long time since the Bhutánese first acquired the use of the musket, iron cannon, and gunpowder,[1] which is of long grain, and is very strong. I have been assured that there is to be seen on their guns figures and letters which are more than

[1] In his paper on *Early Asiatic Fire Weapons* General Maclagan says, "While there appears to be no good evidence in support of the idea that Asia had a knowledge of gunpowder and used firearms before Europe, there are plain indications that the knowledge of the most improved weapons of war, both before and since the introduction of gunpowder, and the skill to make and use them, came from Europe to India and other Asiatic countries." *Jour. Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xlv, p. 64. He concludes, too, that there is not good evidence of the supposition that the Arabs were the first to use powder. He considers the European nations were the first to discover its most important form and application (p. 70). Were space available, much interesting information might be given here of the huge size of the guns which were used in India. One at Bijapur was 4 feet 8 in. diameter at the muzzle, and had a calibre of 2 feet 4 inches. It was cast at Ahmadnagar in 1549. *Asiatic Jour.* 1827, p. 65.

500 years old.[1] They cannot be taken out of the kingdom without the express permission of the Governor, and no one dare carry away a musket unless his nearest relatives go bail that it will be faithfully returned. Except for this difficulty I would have brought one away with me. By the characters which were on the gun, as those who were able to read assured me, it had been made 180 years. It was very thick, the mouth shaped like a tulip, and the interior polished like a mirror. On two-thirds of the gun there were bands in relief, and some gilt and silvered flowers between two of them, and the ball which it carried was an *once* (Fr.) in weight. The merchant of BHUTÁN being so particular about the return of the musket, no matter what offer I made I could never persuade him to sell it to me, and he even refused to give me a sample of his powder. But I have brought to FRANCE two guns of nearly the same kind, one of which was made in the island of CEYLON, and the other in BENGAL.

There are always fifty elephants about the house of the King of BHUTÁN for his guard, and twenty or twenty-five camels, which carry on the saddle a small piece of artillery, with a ball of about half a pound in weight. There is a man seated on the crupper of the camel, as I have elsewhere described, and he manipulates this piece as he pleases, high or low, to the right or to the left, it being fixed on a fork which is attached to the saddle.

There is no king in the world who is more feared and more respected by his subjects than the King of BHUTÁN, and he is even worshipped by them. When on the seat of justice, or when he gives an audience, all those who present themselves before him have their

[1] This carries back to the year A.D. 1150 or thereabouts. See p. 277.

joined hands elevated to their foreheads, and holding themselves aloof from the throne, prostrate themselves to the ground without daring to raise the head. It is in this humble posture that they make their supplications to the King, and when they withdraw they walk backwards till they are out of his presence. The *Brahmins* make these poor people believe that the King is a god upon earth, and principally those who come from the north.[1] . . .

These people of BHUTÁN are robust men and of fine stature, but have somewhat flat faces and noses. I am informed that the women are taller and more vigorous than the men, but that they are more subject than them to *goitre*, from which few of them escape. They know nothing of war, and have no one to fear but the GREAT MOGUL. But on his side, which lies to the south of them, it is, as I have said, a country of high mountains and narrow passes; on the north there is nothing but forests and almost perpetual snow, and both on the east and west there are vast deserts where one finds nothing but bitter waters; and whatever there is of inhabited country belongs to *Rajas* who have not much power.

There is apparently some mine of silver in the Kingdom of BHUTÁN,[2] for the King coins pieces which

[1] It seems probable that this so-called King of Bhután, who was described to Tavernier, was really the Grand Lama of Thibet, and this is the more likely from the statement as to his sanctity in the passage which is not reproduced, being unsuitable for publication. A similar statement occurs, I am informed, in other early but quite independent accounts of the Grand Lama. The armaments and elephants mentioned above seem, however, to be scarcely compatible with the surroundings of the Grand Lama.

[2] This is extremely probable; but it is inconsistent with our author's own statement on p. 162 that there are no silver mines in Asia except

are of the value of rupees. These pieces are not round but octagonal, and there are characters on them which are neither Indian nor Chinese. Nevertheless, the merchants of BHUTÁN, who told me at PATNA of all these things, could not tell me where the mine was, and as for gold the little they have of it is brought to them by the merchants who come from the east.

This is all that I have been able to learn concerning the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, beyond which the ambassadors passed whom the Duke of MOSCOVIE sent to CHINA in the year 1659. They took their route through the length of GREAT TARTARY to the north of BHUTÁN, and arrived at the court of the King of CHINA with considerable presents. They were some of the most distinguished nobles of MOSCOVIE, and were at first very well received. But when it became necessary for them to salute the King—the custom being to prostrate oneself three times on the ground—they would not consent to do so, saying that they would salute according to their own method, and in the manner that they saluted their own Emperor, who was as great and as powerful as he of CHINA. As they remained firm in this resolution they had no audience, and returned with their presents without having seen the King.[1] It would have answered better if the Grand Duke had

in Japan. Ainslie (*Materia Medica*, vol. i, 563) gives a number of references to authorities on the subject. Silver mines in the Patkái country, between Assam and Upper Burmah, have been recently described by Colonel Woodthorpe. (See *Pro. Geogl. Socy.*, January 1887.) A number of mines where argentiferous ores occur in India will be found enumerated in the chapter on silver in the *Economic Geology of India*.

[1] Envoys to the Emperor of China about the year 713, who refused to *kotow*, were tried and pronounced worthy of death, but were subsequently pardoned. See *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. i, p. lxxxi.

chosen for this embassy some persons of lower rank than these three nobles, who would have shown themselves less scrupulous about formalities, which are often the cause of one's being unable to accomplish great designs. If these Moscovite ambassadors had consented to conform to the customs of CHINA (which they might have done without compromising the honour of their master), we should have, without doubt, at this time, a road opened by land from MOSCOVIE to CHINA, through the north of GREAT TARTARY, and a greater knowledge of the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, which is in its vicinity, and of some others of which we scarce know the names; this would have been a great advantage for all EUROPE.[1]

As I have just spoken of the Moscovites, I remember that in my journeys, and particularly on the road from TABRIZ to ISPAHAN, where you generally meet Moscovite merchants, several of them have assured me that in the year 1654, in one of the towns of MOSCOVIE, a woman aged eighty-two gave birth to a male child, which was taken to the Grand Duke, who wished to see it, and had it brought up at his own court.[2]

[1] This passage is of considerable interest when regarded in connection with the subsequent extension of Russia's influence in this direction, and our own hitherto futile attempts to establish a regular trade route through Thibet.

[2] This tale, thrown in as an extra, may have an interest for the curious. There are undoubtedly cases on authentic record of the ordinary period of child-bearing having been abnormally prolonged, but whether to so advanced an age as eighty-two I cannot say.

CHAPTER XVI

Concerning the Kingdom of TIPPERAH

SOME persons believe up to this hour that the Kingdom of PEGU bounds CHINA, and I myself shared this error until three merchants of the Kingdom of TIPPERAH drew me out of it. They made themselves pass as *Brahmins* in order that they might be treated with special respect, but they were in truth only merchants who came to PATNA and DACCA, where I saw them, to buy coral, yellow amber, tortoise-shell, and sea-shell bracelets, and other toys which, as I have said in the preceding chapter, are made in these two towns of BENGAL. I saw one of them at DACCA, and met the two others at PATNA, and had them to dine with me. They were people who spoke but little, whether because it was their own particular nature, or was the usual custom of their country; one of them knew the Indian language. When they bought anything they made their calculations with small stones resembling agates, and of the size of the finger nail, upon which there were figures. They each had scales made like steelyards. The arms were not of iron, but of a kind of wood as hard as *bresil*,[1] and the ring which

[1] The Brazil wood of commerce is at present derived from *Cæsalpina Brasiliensis*, a native of Pernambuco. (See Lindley, *Vegetable Kingdom*,

held the weights, when put in the arm to mark the *livres*, was a strong loop of silk. By this means they weighed from a dram up to ten of our *livres*. If all the inhabitants of the Kingdom of TIPPERAH resemble these two merchants whom I met at PATNA, one might conclude that this nation loves drinking very much; and I experienced a pleasure in giving them sometimes spirits, sometimes Spanish wine, and other kinds of wines, as those of SHIRAZ, RHEIMS, and MANTUA, never having been without a supply in all my journeys, except during the last, in the deserts of ARABIA, which I was unable to traverse in less than sixty-five days, for the reasons I have elsewhere stated. I should have been able to learn many things from these merchants of TIPPERAH in reference to the nature and extent of their country if they had known how to give me as good an account of it as they did of my good wine when I proposed a health. For my interpreter had scarce finished paying them a compliment, on my behalf, before the wine was drunk, and they gazed at one another while smacking their lips, and striking their hands two or three times on their stomachs with a sigh. These merchants had, all three, come by way of the Kingdom of ARAKAN, which lies to the south and west of that of TIPPERAH, which is partly bounded by PEGU in the direction of winter sunset, and they told me that they were about fifteen days in traversing their country, from which one cannot very well estimate its extent, because the

p. 550.) But according to Col. Yule this name was originally applied to a dye-wood obtained from a tree of the same genus indigenous to India, and the name was simply transferred to the American product. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 86.)

stages are unequal, being sometimes longer and sometimes shorter, according as water is to be found.

For the conveyance of goods they use, as in India, oxen and horses, which are similar to those I have described above, low in stature, but otherwise excellent. As for the King and the great nobles, they travel in *pallankeens*, and have elephants which have been trained for war. The inhabitants of TIPPERAH are not less troubled by goitre than are those of BHUTÁN. I was told that it attacked some of the women on the breasts. Of the three men from TIPPERAH whom I saw in BENGAL, the one who was at DACCA had two goitres, each of the size of the fist; they are caused by the bad water, as in many other countries of ASIA and EUROPE.

Nothing is produced in TIPPERAH which is of use to foreigners. There is, however, a gold mine, which yields gold of very low standard; and silk, which is very coarse.[1] It is from these two articles that the King's revenue is derived. He levies no revenue from his subjects, save that those below the rank, corresponding to that of the nobility of Europe, have to work for him for six days every year either in the gold mine or at the silk. He sends both the gold and silk to be sold in CHINA, and receives silver in return, with which he coins money of the value of 10 *sols*.[2] He also coins small gold money like the *aspres*[3]

[1] Tipperah, as now understood, does not produce gold—the gold brought from thence may have been originally obtained elsewhere (see p. 157 *n*). In Assam, I believe, it was once the custom for the *Rajas* to require their subjects to wash for gold for a certain number of days every year. Regular gold washers were taxed.

[2] These coins were therefore worth 9d.

[3] The Turkish *asper* was both a small coin, and a money of account.

of TURKEY, and has two kinds of them, of one of which it takes four to make an *écu*, and of the other it takes a dozen. This is all I have been able to ascertain concerning a country which has been unknown to us up to the present, but about which we shall hereafter have more information, as also of others which the accounts of travellers have made known to us, all not having been discovered in a day.

Its value varied with that of the *piastre*. It therefore represented about a halfpenny in value, if there were 80 to 100 in a *piastre*. The coins here mentioned by Tavernier were worth 1s. 1½d. and 4½d. respectively.

CHAPTER XVII

Concerning the Kingdom of ASSAM

IT was never properly known what the Kingdom of ASSAM was till after that great Captain MIR JUMLÁ, to whom I have often referred in the history of the Moguls, had assured the Empire to AURANGZEB by the death of all his brothers and the imprisonment of his son. He concluded, that, the war being finished, he would be no longer esteemed at Court as highly as he had been when Commander-in-Chief of the armies of AURANGZEB, and all powerful in the Kingdom where he had a great number of supporters. In order, therefore, to retain for himself the command of the troops, he resolved to undertake the conquest of the Kingdom of ASSAM, where he knew he would not meet with much resistance, the country having had no war for 500 or 600 years, and the people being without experience in arms. It is believed that it is this same people who, in ancient times, first discovered gunpowder and guns, which passed from ASSAM to PEGU, and from PEGU to CHINA; this is the reason why the discovery is generally ascribed to the Chinese. MIR JUMLÁ brought back from this war numerous iron guns, and the gunpowder made in that country is excellent. Its grain is not long as in the Kingdom

of BHUTÁN, but is round and small like ours, and is much more effective than the other powder.

MIR JUMLÁ left DACCA then with a powerful army for the conquest of the Kingdom of ASSAM.[1] At 5 leagues from DACCA one of the rivers which comes from the lake of CHIAMAY,[2] which like other rivers of INDIA takes different names according to the places it passes, joins an arm of the GANGES, and at the place where these two rivers meet there are forts on each side, both being armed with good pieces of bronze cannon, which shoot at a level with the water. This is where MIR JUMLÁ embarked,[3] his army ascending the river to the 29th or 30th degree, where the frontier of ASSAM is situated, and thence he led it by land through a country abounding with all the necessaries of life, and with but little means of defence, especially as the people were taken by surprise. As they are all idolaters, the army, which consisted wholly of Muhammadans, did not spare their pagodas, but destroyed them wherever they met with them, burning and sacking all, up to the 35th degree.[4] MIR JUMLÁ then heard that the King of ASSAM was in the field with a larger number of forces than had been expected;

[1] An account of Assam at the time of its conquest by Mir Jumlá in 1663, based on the *Alamgir námah* of Muhammad Kazim-ibn-Muhammad Amin Munshi, by Kaviráj Syámal Dás, translated by Bábu Rámá Prasádá, has recently been published in the *Indian Antiquary* for July 1887, pp. 222-226.

[2] Lake Chiamay was a myth believed in by early travellers.

[3] Gorághát on the west bank of the Karatoyá river in the District of Dinájpur, an ancient city now marked by ruins, according to Muhammad Kazim, was the starting point of Mir Jumlá on the 21st November 1662. This was after he had conquered Kuch Bihár.

[4] The Mogul forces can scarcely have gone beyond Garhgáon, or about the 28th degree of latitude, at the farthest.

that he had many guns, and an abundance of fireworks, similar to our grenades or nearly so, which are fixed at the end of a stick of the length of a short pike, as I have elsewhere represented, and carry more than 500 paces.[1] MIR JUMLÁ, having received this intelligence, did not consider it prudent to advance farther, but the principal cause of his return was that the cold season had commenced, and in order to conquer all that country it would have been necessary to go as far as the 45th degree of latitude; this would have involved the loss of his army. For the Indians are so susceptible to cold, and fear it so much, that it is impossible to make them pass the 30th, or at the most the 35th degree, except at the risk of their lives, and of all the servants whom I took from INDIA to PERSIA, it was a great thing for them to come as far as KASVIN,[2] and I never succeeded in taking any of them to TABRIZ. As soon as they saw the mountains of MEDEA covered with snow I had to allow them to return home.

As MIR JUMLÁ was unable to go farther north, he resolved to turn to the south-west, and laid siege to a town called Azoo,[3] which he took in a short time, and found great riches there. Many are of opinion that his original design was merely to take this town and to pillage it, and afterwards return, as he in fact did.[4]

[1] Rockets (see vol. i, p. 390.)

[2] Casbin in the original.

[3] *Azoo* or Koch Há'jo, a kingdom on the left bank of the Brahmáputrá river, extending up to Kámrup. The town of Há'jo was on the frontier of Assam. A full account of it will be found in the *Pádíshán-námah*. (See Blochmann in *Jour. A. S. Soc. Bengal*, vol. xli, p. 53.)

[4] Muhammad Kazim says that Mir Jumlá, finding his army tired of the difficulties with which they were surrounded, "Came to terms with the Assamis (on the 17th January 1663), who, besides surrendering two districts, which were added to the crown lands, gave 20,000 *tolas* of

It is in this town of Azoo that the tombs of the Kings of ASSAM and of all the members of the royal family are situated. Although the Assamese are idolaters, they do not burn the bodies of the defunct, but bury them. They believe that after death they go to another world, where those who have lived well in this world lack nothing, and enjoy all kinds of pleasure; while, on the contrary, those who have lived badly, and have taken the property of others, suffer much, principally hunger and thirst, and that, accordingly, it is prudent to bury something with them to serve them at need. Thus it was that MIR JUMLÁ found such a quantity of riches at Azoo,[1] since for many centuries every King has had built for himself in the great pagoda a sort of chapel where he was to be buried, and during their lifetime, each of them sent, to be placed in the grave where he was to be buried, a quantity of gold and silver, carpets and other articles. When the body of a dead king is buried in his grave all his most precious possessions are also placed there, as a private idol of gold or silver which he worshipped during life, and all things which it is believed will be required by him in the other world. But that which is most strange, and which savours much of barbarism is, that as soon as the King is dead, some of his most beloved wives and the principal officers of his house kill themselves by means of a poisoned decoction, in

gold, 128,000 rupees in hard cash, 120 elephants, and the King's daughter to the conqueror. He then returned to Bengal via Lakhughar and Kajli, and reached Khizarpur on the 8th April 1663 A.D., where he paid the debt of nature after suffering for a time from consumption" (*l.c.*, p. 223).

[1] Muhammad Kazim says 90,000 rupees worth of gold and silver was obtained by Mir Jumlá's soldiers from these graves (*l.c.* 225).

order to be interred with him, so that they may serve him in the other world. Besides which an elephant, twelve camels,[1] six horses, and numerous sporting dogs are buried with him, it being believed that all these animals will come to life again, after they are dead, in order to serve the King.

This Kingdom of ASSAM is one of the best countries in ASIA, for it produces all that is necessary to the life of man, without there being need to go for anything to the neighbouring States. There are mines of gold, silver, steel, lead, and iron,[2] and much silk, but it is coarse. There is a kind of silk which is produced on trees, and is made by an animal having the form of our silkworm, but it is rounder and remains for a whole year on the trees.[3] The stuffs which are made of this silk are very brilliant, but soon fray and do not last long. It is in the southern direction where these silks are produced, and that the gold and silver mines are situated. The country also produces an abundance of shellac, there are two kinds of it. That which is formed on trees is of a red colour, and is what they dye their calicoes and other stuffs with, and when they have extracted this red colour they use the lac to lacquer cabinets and other objects of that kind, and to

[1] Muhammad Kazim gives a similar account, but does not mention camels. Elsewhere he states camels were unknown in Assam (*l.c.* p. 224). The climate of Assam does not suit camels.

[2] Muhammad Kazim says, "Gold and silver are got from the sand of the rivers draining the Gol (*i.e.* northern circle). About 12,000 Assamis according to some people, 20,000 as others state, are generally engaged in washing these noble metals, and have to pay one *tola* of gold per head per annum to the Chief" (*l.c.* 224). See *Economic Geology of India*, p. 231, for details as to the gold of Assam. See also *ante*, p. 162, where it is stated incorrectly that there are no silver mines in India.

[3] Tusser silkworms? but their silk is remarkably durable.

make Spanish wax.[1] A large quantity of it is exported to CHINA and JAPAN, to be used in the manufacture of cabinets; it is the best lac in the whole of ASIA for these purposes. As for the gold, no one is permitted to remove it out of the Kingdom, and it is not coined into money, but is kept in large and small ingots, which the people make use of in local trade, not taking it elsewhere; but as for silver, the King coins it into money of the size and weight of rupees, and of an octagonal shape, and they may be taken outside the Kingdom. Although the country abounds, as I have said, with all things necessary to life, among all articles of food the flesh of the dog[2] is especially esteemed, it is the favourite dish at feasts, and every month, in each town in the Kingdom, the people hold markets where they only sell dogs, which are brought thither from all directions. There are also quantities of vines and good grapes, but no wine, the grapes being merely dried to distil spirits from. Finally, as regards salt, there is none in the Kingdom but what is manufactured, which is done in two ways.[3] The first is to collect vegetable matter which is found in stagnant water, such as ducks and frogs eat. It is dried and burnt, and the ashes derived from it being boiled and strained as is described below, serve as salt.

[1] See p. 21 for account of shellac and lac dye.

[2] Muhammad Kazim says the *Nanaks* (Nagas ?) eat the flesh of dogs, cats, serpents, etc. (*l.c.* p. 224). The Nagas, I think, still eat dog's flesh.

[3] The chief sources of supply of salt in Asia were formerly the brine springs at Borhát and Sadiyá in Lakhimpur. The vessels used in the manufacture for boiling the brine were simply sections of bamboos, which were pared so thin that the percolating moisture prevented their burning. Imported salt is now largely used in Assam. (See *Economic Geology of India*, p. 491.)

The other method, which is that most commonly followed, is to take some of those large leaves of the kind of fig tree which we call Adam's fig,[1] they are dried in the same manner and burnt, and the ashes from them consist of a kind of salt which is so pungent that it is impossible to eat it unless it is softened, this is done in the following way. The ashes are put into water, where they are stirred about for ten or twelve hours, then this water is strained three times through a cloth and then boiled. As it boils the sediment thickens, and when the water is all consumed, the salt, which is white and fairly good, is found at the bottom of the pot.

It is from these ashes of fig leaves that in this country the lye is made to boil silk, which becomes as white as snow, and if the people of ASSAM had more figs than they have, they would make all their silks white, because white silk is much more valuable than the other, but they have not sufficient to bleach half the silks which are produced in the country.

KEMMEROUF[2] is the name of the town where the King of ASSAM resides, it is twenty-five or thirty days' journey from that which was formerly the capital of the Kingdom and bore the same name. The King takes no tribute from his people, but all the mines of

[1] This manufacture of salt from the leaves of the plantain is mentioned by Muhammad Kazim, *l.c.* p. 224. (See *ante*, p. 4.) The pungency is probably due to the presence of potash salts.

[2] Kámrup, now known as the name of a District in Assam of which Gauháti is the chief town. It is certain that Mir Jumlá was defeated by the Aháms here, and this was the seat of the Ahám Viceroy, but the King of Assam's capital was at Garhgáon (Kargánv) in the Sibságár District. The palace is described in Robinson's *Descriptive Account of Assam*. According to Muhammad Kazim, who also describes it, its circuit was 1 kos and 14 chains (= 840 yards.)

gold, silver, lead, steel, and iron belong to him, and in order not to oppress his subjects, he only employs the slaves whom he buys from his neighbours for working in the mines.[1] Thus all the peasants of ASSAM are at their ease, and there is scarcely any one who has not a separate house in the middle of his land, a fountain surrounded by trees, and even the majority keep elephants for their wives. These idolaters, unlike those of INDIA, who have but one wife, have four, and when a man marries one, in order that there may be no dispute among them, he says to her, "I take you to serve me in my household for this purpose," and to another, "I destine you for another," and thus each of these women knows what she has to do in the house. The men and women are of fine build, and of very good blood; but the people dwelling on the southern frontier are somewhat olive coloured, and are not subject to goitre like those of the north. The latter are not of so fine a build, and the majority of their women have somewhat flat noses. These people of the southern part go about naked, having only a piece of calico with which they cover that which modesty requires them to conceal, with a cap like those English caps, around which they hang an abundance of pigs' teeth.[2] They have their ears pierced so that one might easily pass the thumb through the holes, some carry ornaments of gold in them and others of silver. The men wear their hair down to their shoulders, and the women leave it as long as it can

[1] This may have been true of the silver mines, but as above stated subjects had to wash for gold.

[2] Muhammad Kazim says: "A head-piece of gunny (*gonî*), a cloth round the loins, and a sheet over the shoulders, form all the articles of their dress" (*l.c.*, p. 225).

grow. There is in the Kingdom of ASSAM, as well as in the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, a large trade in tortoise-shell bracelets, and sea shells as large as an egg, which are sawn into small circles, but the rich wear bracelets of coral and yellow amber. When a man dies all his relatives and friends should come to the interment, and when they place the body in the ground they take off all the bracelets which are on their arms and legs and bury them with the defunct.

CHAPTER XVIII

Concerning the Kingdom of SIAM

THE greater part of the Kingdom of SIAM is situated between the Gulf of the same name and the Gulf of BENGAL, adjoining PEGU on the north and the peninsula of MALACCA on the south. The shortest road and the best which Europeans can take to reach this Kingdom is to go from ISPAHAN to HORMUZ, from HORMUZ to SURAT, from SURAT to GOLCONDA, and from GOLCONDA to MASULIPATAM, where they should embark for DENOUSERIN,[1] which is one of the ports of the Kingdom of SIAM. From DENOUSERIN to the capital town, which bears the name of the Kingdom, there are about thirty-five days' journey; one part is traversed by ascending a river, and the remainder in a cart or upon elephants. The road both by land and water is uncomfortable, because on the land portion one must always be on guard against lions[2] and tigers; and by water, as the river makes rapids in many places, it is difficult to make the boats ascend, which is nevertheless accomplished by the aid of machinery. It is the route

[1] This appears to be Tenasserim, which, however, was included in the Kingdom of Pegu, though at times conquered and held by Siam. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. "Tenasserim.")

[2] There are no lions in Siam.

which I recommended, on the return from one of my voyages to INDIA, to three bishops whom I met on the road. The first was the Bishop of BERYTE,[1] whom I met at ISPAHAN; the second the Bishop of MEGALOPOLIS,[2] when crossing the EUPHRATES; the third the Bishop of HELIOPOLIS,[3] who arrived at ALEXANDRETTA as I was leaving it for EUROPE. The whole of SIAM abounds with rice and fruits, the principal of which are called *mangues*, *durions*, and *mangoustans*.[4] The forests are full of deer, elephants, tigers, rhinoceros, and monkeys, and everywhere is to be seen an abundance of bamboos, which are large and very tall canes, hollow throughout, and as hard as iron.

At the ends of these canes you find nests, of the size of a man's head, suspended; they are made by ants from a fat earth which they carry up. There is but a small hole at the base of these nests, by which the ants enter, and in these nests each ant has his separate chamber, like honey bees. They build their nests on the canes, because if they made them on the ground, during the rainy season, which lasts four or five months, they would be exterminated, all the country being then inundated. One must take precautions after night-fall against snakes. There are there some snakes which are 22 feet long and have two heads,[5] but the head at

[1] Beyrout, in Syria.

[2] Metellopolis of Finlayson, *Mission to Siam*, p. 257.

[3] Heliopolis or Bambyke, near Carchermish on the Euphrates. Le Blanc identifies Hieropolis with Aleppo (*Voyages*, Paris Edition, 1648, p. 8).

[4] Mangoes, Durians, and Mangosteens.

[5] This fable of two-headed snakes is common in India; sometimes it is said of the *Daman* snake—*Ptyas mucosus*. The statement that the head, at the tail end, has no movement, and that the mouth does not open, is a charmingly ingenuous admission. Like the case of the birds-

the extremity which answers to the tail, and where the snake ends, does not open the mouth and has no movement.

There is also in SIAM a very venomous animal which is not more than a foot long. Its tail is forked and has two points, and its form is somewhat like what we picture the salamander.[1]

The rivers of this Kingdom are very beautiful, and the one at SIAM is of nearly uniform size throughout.[2] The water in it is very wholesome, but it is full of crocodiles of enormous size, which often devour men who are not on their guard.[3] The rivers are in flood during the time that the sun traverses the northern signs; this contributes much to the fertility of the land where the waters spread themselves, and where, by a wonderful provision of nature, the ear of rice ascends to the surface as the waters rise.[4]

SIAM,[5] the capital town of the Kingdom, and the ordinary residence of the King, is surrounded by walls, and is more than 3 of our leagues in circuit. It is on

of-paradise, referred to on p. 15, the description illustrates the persistency of myths.

[1] This poisonous, forked-tailed reptile was certainly mythical. A species of *Eublepharis?* is called *bishkhuprá* by the natives of India, and though unprovided with fangs is believed to be very poisonous.

[2] The principal rivers of Siam are the Menam, Mekong, Meklong, Petriü, Tachin, and the Chantibun (Crawfurd, *Dictionary*).

[3] The Siamese take their revenge by eating crocodiles' eggs.

[4] The period of floods is during the south-west monsoon, from June to November, and the plain fertilised by them has an area of 6750 geographical square miles.

[5] Bankok, on both banks of the Menam river, 24 miles from the sea, is the present capital of Siam. The old capital, called Siam or Yuthia, or Ayuthia, from Sanskrit *Ajudya*, is 54 miles farther to the north; it was destroyed by the Burmese in 1768, and Bankok was founded in 1769 (Crawfurd, *Dictionary*).

an island, the river surrounding it on all sides; canals might easily be made through all the streets if the King were willing to expend on that work a part of the vast amount of gold which he lavishes on the temples of his idols.

The Siamese have thirty-three letters in their alphabet;[1] they write as we do, from left to right, or contrary to the people of JAPAN, CHINA, COCHIN-CHINA, and TONQUIN, who write from the right hand to the left, and from the top of the page to the bottom.

All the common people of this Kingdom are in slavery either to the King or to the nobles. The women cut their hair like the men, and their garments are not very copious. Among the civilities which the Siamese observe towards one another, one of the principal is never to pass any one to whom respect is due, without previously asking permission; this is done by elevating both hands. The richest have many wives, as is the case in the Kingdom of ASSAM.

The money of the country is of silver and nearly of the shape of a musket bullet.[2] The lowest denomination consists of small shells, which are brought from the MANILLAS. There are good tin mines in SIAM.[3]

[1] The Siamese alphabet contains 20 vowels and 43 consonants—in all, 63 distinct characters. The language consists of two dialects—the court and the vulgar. The sacred language is distinct, being Pali or Prakrit (Crawfurd, *Dictionary*).

[2] The coins here referred to are probably those which our author figures in his chapter on coins (p. 22 of the original Paris edition of 1676). Whether this peculiar form has ever been explained I am unable to say, but it most undoubtedly imitates the curious-shaped *coco-de-mer*, or double cocoanut of the Seychelles islands, for which fabulous prices were given in the Malayan countries and India. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary* for an account of this cocoanut.)

[3] Tin is obtained in four of the provinces, which extend from Lat. 8° to Lat. 13°; and it is also obtained in the tributary Malay States.

The King of SIAM is one of the wealthiest monarchs in the East, and he calls himself in his edicts King of heaven and earth, although he is a tributary to the Kings of CHINA. He shows himself but rarely to his subjects, and only gives audience to the principal persons of his court, strangers having no admission to his palace. He confides the government to his ministers, who very often make ill use of the authority with which they are invested. He only shows himself in public twice in the year; this he does with much splendour. The first time is in order to go in state to a pagoda which is in the town,[1] the tower of which is gilt throughout, both inside and outside. It contains three idols, which are from 6 to 7 feet high, and are made of massive gold; and by means of liberal alms to the poor, and presents to the priests of these false gods, he believes that he makes himself pleasing to them. He goes there accompanied by all his court, and displays all his richest possessions. Among other indications of magnificence there are 200 elephants in SIAM, one of them being white; and it is so highly esteemed by the King that he glories in calling himself "the King of the white elephant."[2] These elephants live for several centuries, as I have elsewhere remarked.[3]

The second time that the King goes forth in public is for the purpose of visiting another pagoda, which is

[1] This pagoda, or the one next referred to, is probably the one still standing, though much ruined, near Yuthia; it is 400 feet high, and has a gigantic gilt bronze statue of Buddha. It is said to have been built in the year 1387 A.D. (Crawfurd, *Dictionary*).

[2] In the year 1821-22 the envoys from the Governor-General of India found five white elephants in the possession of the King. Finlayson gives an interesting account of them (*Mission to Siam*, p. 154).

[3] See vol. i, p. 279.

5 or 6 leagues from the town up the river. No one can enter this pagoda save the King and his priests. As for the people, as soon as they see the door of it each one must throw himself with his face to the ground. On this occasion the King appears on the river with 200 richly gilt and decorated galleys of an enormous length, each having 400 rowers. As this second sortie of the King happens in the month of November, when the river begins to fall, the priests make the people believe that it is the King alone who is able to arrest the course of the waters by the prayers and offerings which he makes in this pagoda; and these poor people persuade themselves that the King goes to cut the waters with his sword, to dismiss them and order them to retire into the sea.

The King goes, moreover, but on this occasion without any state, to a pagoda which is in the island where the Dutch have their factory. There is, at the entrance, an idol seated after the manner of our tailors, having one hand on one of his knees and the other at his side. It is more than 60 feet high,[1] and around this large idol there are more than 300 others of different sizes, which represent all kinds of attitudes of men and women.[2] All these idols are gilt, and there is a prodigious quantity of these pagodas in all the country. This results from the fact that there is no rich Siamese who does not have one built to perpetuate his memory. These pagodas have towers and bells,

[1] This was one of the famous images of Buddha. Perhaps it is that which is referred to in a previous note, which ought, therefore, to refer to this second pagoda, which the King was in the habit of visiting.

[2] It is possible that this is a mistake, as images of women are, I think, not to be found in these pagodas. But some of those of Buddha have an effeminate appearance.

and the walls inside are painted and gilt, but the windows are so narrow that they afford but little light. The altars are laden with costly idols, among which there are generally three of different sizes close to one another.[1] The two pagodas to which, as I have said, the King goes in state, are surrounded by many beautiful pyramids, all well gilt; and that which is in the island where the Dutch have their house has associated with it a cloister, the façade of which is very fine. In the middle there is, as it were, a great chapel all gilded within, where a lamp and three wax candles are kept alight in front of the altar, which is covered with idols, some being of fine gold and the others of gilt copper. The pagoda, which is in the middle of the town, and is one of the two which the King visits once in the year, as I have related, contains nearly 4000 idols, and it has around it, as has that which is at 6 leagues from SIAM, a quantity of pyramids, the beauty of which causes one to wonder at the industry of this nation.

When the King appears all the doors and windows of the houses have to be closed, and all the people prostrate themselves on the ground without daring to raise their eyes towards him. As no one should be in a place more elevated than the King when he is passing through the streets, all those who are in their houses must descend. When his hair is cut one of his wives is employed on that duty, as he does not allow a barber to place a hand upon him. This prince is passionately

[1] Vast accumulations of figures of Buddha characterise these temples, even those which are deserted. The well-known seated and recumbent figures of Buddha, made of marble or lacquered wood, which are brought to Europe, have generally been obtained from deserted pagodas in Burmah or Siam.

attached to certain elephants, which he supports as the favourites and ornaments of his kingdom. When they are sick the greatest nobles of the court show the utmost care for them in order to please their sovereign; and when the elephants die, as much magnificence is displayed for them as at the funerals of the nobles of the Kingdom. These funerals of the nobles are conducted in the following manner:—A kind of mausoleum is adorned with reeds covered on both sides with paper of many colours. As all kinds of scented wood are sold by weight, as much as the body weighs is placed in the middle of the mausoleum, and after the priests have finished pronouncing some benedictions they burn the whole to ashes. Those of the rich are preserved in urns of gold or silver, but as for those of the poor they are cast to the winds. As for criminals who have finished their lives with a disgraceful death, the Siamese do not burn their bodies, but bury them.

The King authorises public women, but they have to live in their own separate quarter, under a chief who protects them from insult from any one. When one of them dies her body is not burnt as is that of a respectable woman, but is thrown into a place where it becomes the food of dogs and crows.

It is estimated that there are in this Kingdom more than 200,000 priests called *Bonzes*,[1] who are held in great veneration both by the court and by the people. The King himself regards some of them with such awe as to humiliate himself in their presence. The extraordinary respect which every one shows them has in-

[1] This is the ordinary term to denote the priests of Buddha in Siam. Its origin is said to be somewhat obscure. (See *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, Art. "Bonze.")

spired in them, sometimes, so much pride, that some of them have pushed their desires as far as the throne. But when the King discovers anything of the kind he takes their lives, as was the case some time ago in a rebellion, the author of which was a *Bonze*, whom the King executed.

These *Bonzes* are clad in yellow, and wear on their loins a small red cloth as a waistband. They make an outward show of great modesty, and one never sees them manifest the smallest degree of passion. At four o'clock in the morning they rise at the sound of bells to say their prayers, and they do the same towards evening. There are certain days of the year when they withdraw from the conversation of men to live in retreat. Some live on charity, and others have well-endowed dwellings. As long as they wear the garb of *Bonzes* they cannot possess wives, and they must relinquish it if they desire to marry. They are for the most part very ignorant, and know not what they believe. It appears, however, that like the idolaters of INDIA they believe in the transmigration of the soul into many bodies. It is forbidden to them to take the lives of animals; nevertheless, they make no scruple about eating animals which others have slain, or have died naturally.[1] The god whom they worship is a phantom, of whom they speak blindly, and they are so

[1] I have heard a story, which may be a libel, of Burmese chasing fowls till they died of exhaustion, by which kind of "killing no murder" they believed they had not done wrong, though they ate the fowls. The Burmese are always glad to dispose of any animal a sportsman may shoot, and will even eat snakes if he kills them.

The King of Burmah (Ava), it is said, used to keep sheep, one of which would conveniently die whenever meat was required at the palace. (See *The Prisoner in Burmah*, H. Gouger, London, 1860, p. 52.)

obstinate in maintaining their gross errors that it is difficult to cure them of them. They say that the God of the Christians and theirs are brothers, but that theirs is the elder. If any one asks them where their god is they reply that he has disappeared, and that they know not where he is.

As for the standing army of the kingdom, it consists mainly of infantry, which is fairly good. The soldiers are inured to fatigue, and have for sole garment a piece of calico to cover the middle of the body. All the remainder of the body—the chest, back, arms, and thighs —are uncovered, and the skin, which is all cut (tattooed),[1] as when one applies cupping-glasses, represents many kinds of flowers and animals. After the skin is cut and the blood has flowed from it, these figures of flowers and animals are rubbed in with whatever colours are wished for; and one would say, on seeing these soldiers from a distance, that they were clad with some flowered silken stuff or painted calico, for the colours once applied never fade. They have for arms bow and arrow, musket and pike, and an *azagaye*,[2] which is a stick of 5 or 6 feet long, tipped with iron at the end, which can be hurled with skill against an enemy.

In the year 1665 there was in the town of SIAM a Neapolitan Jesuit called Father THOMAS. He fortified the town and the King's palace, which is on the margin of the river, and he had previously erected good bastions on both sides. It was on account of this that the King allowed him to dwell in the town, where he had a small church with a house where M. LAMBERT, Bishop of BEYROUT, went to lodge on arriving in SIAM.

[1] As is well known, tattooing is a fine art in Siam.

[2] *Assegai.* (See p. 161, for etymology of the word.)

But these two did not long remain on good terms together, and the Bishop found it advisable to have a separate chapel.

The port where vessels arrive from COCHIN-CHINA and other places is only half a league from the town, and as there are always some Christian sailors there, the Bishop built a small house and a chapel there in order to perform mass.[1]

[1] On the whole, this must be allowed to be an excellent account of Siam. Very probably Tavernier obtained his information from the bishops and Jesuit priests. The reader is referred to Crawfurd's *Dictionary of the Malayan Islands* for a valuable epitome of information on this subject. Finlayson's *Account of the Mission to Siam*, London, 1826, contains an interesting account referring to a period when Siam had scarcely been affected by European nations. On Siam as it now is, there are numerous authorities.

CHAPTER XIX

Concerning the Kingdom of MACASSAR *and the Dutch Embassy to* CHINA

THE Kingdom of MACASSAR, otherwise called the Island of CELEBES,[1] commences at the 5th degree of south latitude. The heat is excessive during the day, but the nights are fairly temperate, and as for the land it is beautiful and very fertile; but the people of this island do not know how to build well. The capital town bears the same name as the kingdom, and is situated close to the sea. The port is free; and the vessels which carry thither a quantity of merchandise from the neighbouring islands do not pay any custom dues. The inhabitants poison their weapons, and the most dangerous poison which they use is made of the juice of certain trees which grow in the island of BORNEO; they temper it according to the effect, whether slow or quick, which they wish the poison to produce. It is said that the King alone knows the secret of weakening its effect, and he boasts of having some of it so quick that there is no remedy in the world capable of neutralising it. One of my brothers,[2] whom I had taken to INDIA, and who died there, one

[1] The Island of Celebes extends from Lat. 1° 45′ north to 5° 45′ south.

[2] This was his brother Daniel. (See Introduction, vol. i, p. xii.)

day witnessed a remarkable proof of the quickness with which this poison takes effect. An Englishman, when in a rage, having killed one of the subjects of the King of MACASSAR, and this Prince having forgiven him, all the *Franks*, English as well as Dutch and Portuguese, who were in MACASSAR, fearing if this murder was left unpunished the islanders would take their revenge by attacking some of them, besought the King to execute the Englishman, and urged him so strongly that at length he consented. My brother was much beloved by the King, who invited him to take part in all his amusements, and especially when drinking was in question. The death of the Englishman having been decided on, the King told my brother that he would not allow the victim to languish long, and in order to prove at the same time the extraordinary power of his poison, he would wound the criminal himself with one of his arrows. These are small poisoned arrows which are fired with a *sampitan*,[1] and the King, in order to show his skill, asked my brother in what part of the body he wished him to strike the criminal. My brother, who was anxious to see if what the King had told him of the rapid effect of his poison were true, asked him to strike him on the great toe of the right foot, this the King did exactly and with wonderful skill. Two surgeons, one English and the other Dutch, were ready to cut the toe well below the

[1] The word is *sarbatane* in the original; it means a blow-tube, or rather the object blown through. Owing to the virulence of the poison on the darts it is a terrible instrument of offence. Though frequently mentioned by writers, I know of no stronger testimony of its powers than that given by our author. As an alleged antidote *stercus humanum*, diluted with water, is mentioned by Friar Odoric (see Yule's *Cathay*, p. 91).

wound, but they were unable to accomplish it so skilfully but that the poison, more rapid, had reached the heart, and the Englishman died at the same moment. All the kings and princes of the East similarly cherish with care the strongest poisons, and the King of ACHIN one day made a present of fifteen or twenty of these poisoned arrows to M. CROKE, Envoy-General of BATAVIA, who was subsequently Chief of the factory at SURAT. It was already some years since he had received these arrows without having thought of trying them, and one day when I was with him we shot many squirrels which fell dead immediately on being struck.

The King of MACASSAR is a Muhammadan, and he allows none of his subjects to become Christians. The Jesuit fathers in the year 1656 had found means to build a fairly good church at MACASSAR, but in the following year the King ordered it to be thrown down, as also that of the Dominican fathers, who performed mass for the Portuguese traders in the kingdom. The parochial church, which was conducted by some secular priests, remained standing until the Dutch attacked MACASSAR with a powerful fleet, and by force of arms they compelled the King to drive all the Portuguese out of his territories. The bad conduct of this Prince was partly the cause of this war, to which the Dutch were also driven by the resentment they felt in consequence of the Portuguese Jesuits having crossed their embassy to CHINA. Besides which they had committed serious outrages against the Dutch at MACASSAR, having even flung on the ground the hat of one of the envoys who had come to conclude a treaty with the King. Thus the Dutch, unable to avoid

resenting this affront, resolved to unite their forces with the *Bugis*,[1] who were in rebellion against their King, and to avenge, at whatever cost, so gross an insult. On the other hand, as I have said, the Dutch had been much ill-used by the Portuguese Jesuits, who by their intrigues prevented the Deputy whom the former sent to the King of CHINA from accomplishing what he desired, and it happened in this way :—

Towards the end of the year 1658 the General of BATAVIA and his Council sent one of the chiefs of the Dutch Company to the King of CHINA. Having arrived at the Court with splendid presents, he sought to obtain access to the Mandarins, who are the great nobles of the kingdom, so that by their credit he might obtain permission to trade in CHINA. But the Jesuits, who knew the language and were acquainted with the nobles of the Court, in consequence of the long sojourn they had made in the country, in order to prevent the Dutch Company from gaining a footing, to the prejudice of the Portuguese nation, represented many things to the King's Council to the disadvantage of the Dutch. They told them that in CEYLON they had broken the promise they had given to the King of that island to make over to him the places which they jointly captured from the Portuguese; that they were not people of good faith; and that they had likewise fooled the King of ACHIN after the capture of MALACCA, and many other Princes in the MOLUCCA islands; that after having taken, by terms of capitulation, the country of some of them together with their persons, promising to maintain them all their lives

[1] *Bouquins* in the original. The Bugis are so called by the Malays, their proper name is Wugi. They are the dominant race in Celebes.

according to their dignity, they had not treated them with any further consideration once they got them into their power, but had transported them as slaves to the Island of MAURICE[1] to cut ebony wood. All these things and many others of the same kind having been represented to the King's Council, the Dutch deputy was immediately dismissed, and left CHINA without having accomplished anything. Having learnt from a letter which a spy had written to him after his departure, the bad turn which the Portuguese Jesuits had played him, on his return to BATAVIA he reported it to the General and his Council, who were much annoyed, and resolved to take strong vengeance. According to the accounts which the Deputy handed in, the cost of the voyage amounted to 50,000 *écus*;[2] and the Council reflected on the means whereby they could reimburse themselves with double that amount from the Portuguese. They were aware of the trade which the Jesuit fathers engaged in annually in the island of MACAO and the Kingdom of MACASSAR, and that they fitted out on their own account as many as six or seven vessels laden with all kinds of Indian as well as Chinese goods. The Dutch calculated the time when these vessels should arrive at MACASSAR, and on the 7th of June 1660 there appeared at that port two of the Company's vessels, which came in advance to facilitate the withdrawal of the Dutch who were on land. The Dutch fleet was composed of more than thirty sail, and anchored at the island of TANAKEKE,[3] at 7 leagues from BUTAGNE.[4]

[1] Mauritius.

[2] £11,250.

[3] Tanahkeke, or the "Island of Sorcerers," in S. Lat. 5° 30′ towards the extreme end of the south-western peninsula of Celebes.

[4] Bontaing on S. coast of Celebes.

The King felt compelled to defend himself against these enemies whose power he feared, and with the vessels of MACAO, which were in the roads, sought for some time to resist the Dutch attack. The combat being obstinate on both sides, the Dutch divided their fleet, and while thirteen vessels devoted themselves to the Portuguese, the remainder incessantly battered the fortress, which was carried without much resistance. It is said that on this day the Dutch fired more than 7000 cannon shots, and that the King was so much terrified that he ordered the Portuguese not to fire any more, so as not to further irritate the enemy. The Prince PATINSALOA died during this engagement, and this was a great loss to the King of MACASSAR, who had become formidable to his neighbours by the diplomacy of this minister, upon whom he entirely relied. As the vessels of MACAO found themselves surprised and unprepared for defence, it was not difficult for the Dutch fleet to destroy the Portuguese; they burnt three of their vessels, sent two to the bottom, and took from them a quantity of costly goods; thus it was that the Dutch reimbursed themselves profitably for the cost of the deputation to CHINA.

On the 13th of June the King of MACASSAR, named SUMBACO, through fear of seeing himself reduced to the last extremity, ordered a white flag to be hoisted on another fortress, from whence, surrounded by his wives, he watched the fight. During the truce which they granted him, he sent one of the highest of the nobles of his court to the General of the Dutch fleet to ask for peace, which was only granted to him on condition that he would send an ambassador to BATAVIA, that he would drive all the Portuguese from

the island, and that his subjects should no longer trade with them.

As the articles of the treaty were to be ratified at BATAVIA by the General and his Council, the King of MACASSAR equipped his galleys and sent there eleven of the grandest nobles of his court with a following of 700 men, and the chief of this embassy was the brother of the late Prince PATINSALOA. They were to present to the General of BATAVIA 200 loaves (*pains*)[1] of gold to redeem the royal fortress, and had orders to submit to all the conditions which the Dutch proposed to them, provided that they did not affect the law of MUHAMMAD. The General having received this embassy, which was a great honour for him, and profiting by the opportunity, and the good fortune of his arms, he himself prepared the terms of the capitulation, which were signed by the ambassadors of MACASSAR and were strictly observed. For immediately all the Portuguese left the country, some passing to the Kingdoms of SIAM and CAMBODIA,[2] and the remainder withdrawing to MACAO and GOA. MACAO, which was some years ago regarded as one of the most famous and richest towns of the East, was the principal object of the Dutch embassy to CHINA, and as it was the best port which the Portuguese then had in these regions, the design of the Dutch was to ruin it completely. To-day this town, which is at the 22° of north latitude, in a small peninsula of the Province of CANTON,[3] which is a part of CHINA, has lost much of its former renown.

[1] "Loaves" of gold. (See Appendix, vol. i, p. 416. 200 = £9000.)

[2] *Camboye* in the original.

[3] *Yanton* in the original. Macao is near the mouth of the Canton

The Jesuit fathers and the Portuguese merchants were not recompensed by it for the disgrace which they had experienced at MACASSAR, and they sustained still another blow close to GOA. The Chief of the Dutch factory at VENGURLA, which is only 8 leagues from that town, having heard of the ill-success of Dutch affairs in CHINA, thought on his side of a means to avenge it. He was not ignorant of the fact that the Jesuit fathers of GOA and other places in INDIA did a large trade in rough diamonds which they sent to EUROPE, whither they carried them when returning to PORTUGAL. And in order to conceal this trade they used to send one or two from among their number in the garb of *Fakirs* or Indian pilgrims; this was easy for them to do, because there are fathers among them who are born in the country, and know the Indian language perfectly. This garb of the *Fakirs* consists of the skin of a tiger, which is worn on the back, and one of a goat which covers the waist and hangs down to the knees. For cap they have the skin of a lamb or of a kid, the four feet of which hang on the forehead, neck, and ears which are pierced, and in which they insert large rings of crystal. Their legs are naked, and they have large wooden sandals on the feet, and carry a bundle of peacocks' feathers to fan themselves with, and drive away the flies. One day as I was dining with the Augustine fathers who reside at the Court of the King of GOLCONDA in company with M.M. LESCOT and RAISIN, one of these Jesuit fathers who had come from GOA entered the chamber clothed in the manner I have described. He told us that he was going to ST. THOME on the

river and belongs to the Portuguese, while Hong Kong, similarly situated, belongs to the British.

business of the Viceroy of GOA; upon which I remarked that to travel throughout INDIA it was not necessary to disguise himself, and that other religious persons, to whatever order they belonged, did not disguise themselves in that manner.

The Chief of the VENGURLA factory seized his opportunity then to revenge himself on the Jesuit fathers, and having learnt that there were two of them going to the mines to buy 400,000 *pardos*[1] worth of diamonds, he gave orders to two men who purchased some for him, that as soon as the fathers had completed their purchase they should give notice of it to the master of the customs at BICHOLIM.[2] BICHOLIM is a large town on the frontier, which separates the territories of the King of BIJAPUR from those of the Portuguese, and there is no other road but by this place, because one cannot elsewhere pass the river which forms the island of SALSETTE where the town of GOA is built. The Jesuit fathers, believing that the officer of customs knew nothing of the purchase which they had made, went into the boat to cross the water, and they had no sooner entered it, than they were searched, and all the diamonds found on them were confiscated.

I return to the King of MACASSAR, whom the reverend Jesuit fathers strove to convert, and they would possibly have accomplished their design, except for a condition which he imposed on them, and which they neglected to fulfil. For at the same time that

[1] This, with the *pardao* at 2s., would represent a sum of £40,000.

[2] Bicholi in the original, and called Bicholly in vol. i, p. 181, it is now known as Bicholim, and the District bearing the name is included judicially in Burdez in the "old conquests."

the Jesuits laboured to draw him to Christianity, the Muhammadans on their side made equal efforts to induce him to embrace their law; and this Prince, who wished to relinquish idolatry, not knowing well which side he should take, told the Muhammadans to summon two or three of their most accomplished *Mullas* from MECCA, and the Jesuits also, that they should send him an equal number of their ablest men, that he might hear them and instruct himself thoroughly in the respective religions; both promised to do so. But the Muhammadans made more haste than the Christians, and eight months afterwards, having brought two skilled *Mullas* from MECCA, the King, as the Jesuits sent no one, embraced the law of MUHAMMAD.[1] It is true that three years afterwards two Portuguese Jesuits arrived at MACASSAR, but it was too late, and the King was no longer inclined to become a Christian.

The King of MACASSAR having been made a MUHAMMADAN, the Prince, his brother, was so annoyed that he was unable to restrain himself from giving signs of it by the committal of a deed which resulted in his disgrace. As he knew that the Muhammadans had a horror of pork, which is one of the common articles of food of the idolaters of MACASSAR, as soon as the mosque which the King built was finished, he entered it one night, and having ten or twelve pigs slaughtered in his presence, he had the blood sprinkled in all directions, and both the walls and the niche where the *Mulla* places himself to offer up prayers were soiled

[1] This, according to Crawfurd (*Dictionary*), took place in the year 1603; but the people generally did not follow his example till 1616, or a century after the Portuguese had been in occupation of Malacca and the Moluccas.

with it. The King, by the laws of the religion which he had embraced, was obliged to demolish the mosque and to build a new one; and the Prince, his brother, withdrawing with some other idolatrous nobles, has never again appeared at Court since that time.

This is all that I have been able to collect of the most singular facts regarding the Kingdoms of the East included in the territories of the GREAT MOGUL and the Empire of CHINA, of which I also have good memoirs; but as I know that several persons have written fully regarding them, I think the reader would prefer that I should give him the result of my voyages, and that I should only amuse him with things which I have seen with my own eyes.

CHAPTER XX

The Author pursues his journey in the East and embarks at VENGURLA *for* BATAVIA; *the danger which he runs on the sea, and his arrival in the Island of* CEYLON

I LEFT VENGURLA, a large town of the Kingdom of BIJAPUR, 8 leagues from GOA, on the 14th of April 1648, and embarked on a Dutch vessel which had just brought silks from PERSIA and was going to BATAVIA. It had orders to stop at BAKANOR[1] *en route*, in order to take in rice, and we arrived there on the 18th of the same month. I landed with the captain, who went to see the King to ask his permission to take the rice; this he gave willingly. It was necessary for us to ascend by the river nearly 3 leagues, and we found the King close to the water, where there were only ten or twelve huts made of palm leaves. He had, in his own, a Persian carpet spread underneath him, and we saw there five or six women, some of whom fanned him with fans made of peacocks' tails, and the

[1] Barcoor of A.S., Barkur is an old port on an estuary on the west coast of India, Lat. 13° 28½′. According to the *Imperial Gazetteer* it was "the capital of the Jain Kings of Tulava . . . and subsequently a stronghold of the Vijáyanagar Rajas. It is often mentioned by the older travellers (see *Anglo-Indian Gazetteer*, p. 33).

others gave him *betel* and filled his pipe with tobacco. The most important persons of the country were in the other huts, and we counted about 200 men, the majority of whom were armed with bows and arrows. They also had with them two elephants. It appeared as if they had some retreat elsewhere, and that they had merely come to this place to enjoy the coolness afforded by the trees and some streams. Having left the King and re-embarked on our boat, he sent us, as a present, a dozen fowl and five or six pots of palm wine. We slept the same evening, after having made a league of way, in a hamlet where there were but three or four houses, but we had taken with us ample provisions from our vessel. In the morning when we were ready to leave we saw on the river one of our pilots with three or four young men, who came up to us and brought the necessaries for breakfast. When they were landed and we had commenced to eat they asked for some *tári*[1] or palm wine, and the owner of the hut where we had slept offered to bring us some, which was very good, but he told us that it was strong, and that it might send fumes to the head. Our sailors jeered at that because they drank it often, and some of them had even drunk much of it without being inconvenienced. But since you drink it as soon as it is drawn from the tree, and do not allow it to ferment, if you take too much you feel it ferment in the stomach. This peasant having then brought a pot of his palm wine, each drank of it as he felt inclined, one three glasses, another four or five, and for myself I was contented with only one, which might contain nearly half a pint. But to tell the truth, we all suffered such

[1] See vol. i, p. 158.

severe headaches from it that we were two days before we were able to cure ourselves. We asked the natives of the country why this wine had thus troubled us, and they said that it was caused by the fact that pepper was planted around the palms, and that it was that which gave so much strength to this wine. We were still somewhat giddy from it when we returned on board, where a governor of the country immediately arrived to meet us and settle the price of the rice and know the quantity of it which was required. It had to be brought from some distance; this troubled us much, because the wind commenced to change, and the captain was unwilling to leave, as he had not all the cargo which he required.

During the night, between the 28th and 29th, the wind began to change, and the pilots told the captain, who had never before sailed along the coasts of INDIA, that he ought to hoist the anchor and set sail, although we had not received our full cargo; but the captain would not consent, replying that we wanted water. The wind having been strong throughout the night, on the following day it calmed a little, and loading up with the rice was continued. On the day after we strongly urged the captain to leave, and as he saw that all murmured he sent two boats to get water. But they had scarcely reached the mouth of the river when the wind became so furious that the sailors hastened to return without water, this they accomplished with much trouble and danger of being lost. When they came on board the two boats were tied astern of the vessel, according to custom, and fourteen men were put in the larger one in order to take care of her and to prevent the waves breaking her against

the vessel. We desired then to begin to hoist the anchor, but the wind became still stronger and more adverse; of thirty or forty men who were about the winch more than twelve were injured by the bars, the violence of the wind driving them backwards. The captain, wishing also to assist in the work in order to ease the cable, had his hand badly crushed. At length the sea became so rough that instead of hoisting the anchor it became necessary to put out others, as the wind was driving us on shore. Every one then commenced to examine his conscience, and prayed thrice in two hours' time. By midnight we had lost all our anchors, to the number of seven, so that not having more and not knowing what to do further, our pilots called out that each one should strive to save himself as soon as the vessel touched the land, and being exhausted they went to lie down on their beds. It was already a long time since the captain had taken to his, on account of the great pain which his hand gave him, as it was in a dreadful condition. As for me, as the moon was shining, I leant against the bulwarks of the vessel watching how the billows urged it towards the shore. While I was in this position the vessel touched land, and each one believed then that it would go to pieces. At this moment two sailors came to me to say that I need fear nothing, and they would take precautions to ensure our safety, but if God permitted us by His grace to reach the land I should reward them for their trouble. I exhorted them to do their best to save us, and told them there would be 500 *écus* ready for them as soon as we reached the land. They were two Hamburghers, who had seen me previously at BANDAR-ABBAS and SURAT, and they well knew that I carried

all my goods on my person, without having need of camels or mules to carry them. As soon as I promised them this sum they took a spar of wood of the thickness of a man's thigh and 8 or 10 feet long, attaching to it thick ropes in five or six places, to each of which they allowed a length of only 3 or 4 feet. As they worked at it I kept my eyes constantly fixed in the direction of the land, and I observed that the vessel did not go straight as it had done previously. I feared that it was only the darkness which made me think so, for the moon began to set. I hastened at once to the compass to assure myself, and I saw as a matter of fact that the wind had altogether changed and came from the land. Immediately I cried out to the sailors that the wind had become favourable, and at the same moment the boatswain, who directs all that appertains to the vessel, made a great noise and called all the sailors. He also hailed the fourteen men whom they had placed in the large boat, believing that they were there still; but no one replied, and we saw at daybreak that the cable had parted, and we were never able to ascertain what had become of them. As for the captain, he was unable to rise on account of a severe attack of fever which the pain in his hand had caused him. At first every one took courage, although they were in difficulty as to how they should steer the vessel, the top of the rudder being broken. In order to remedy this evil the pilot set a small sail, which was set first on one side and then on the other as he directed, and a rope was tied to the rudder to make it work, for it was only the socket above which was broken, where they were consequently unable to fix the piece (tiller) which comes on board for the steers-

man. At length the wind blew from the north-east, and the darker night became, on account of the setting of the moon, the more the wind freshened and each one gave thanks to God. We were nevertheless not beyond all danger, because it was necessary for us to pass three great rocks which projected above the water, but which we were unable to see, the night being so dark. When ships come to this port where we had taken the rice, they do not generally pass (inside) these rocks; but our captain, as he had but little time to spare for loading, brought his vessel as closely as possible to the mouth of the river for the convenience of those who carried the rice, who were in consequence able to make more frequent trips. At length by God's grace we were, at daybreak, some 3 or 4 leagues from the land. Then we held a consultation in order to settle what direction we should take, because we had no anchors left. Some advised that we should return to GOA to winter there, others that we should go to POINT DE GALLE, which is the first town which the Dutch took from the Portuguese in the Island of CEYLON, for we were about equidistant from both, and the wind was equally favourable for both places. My opinion was that we should not take the route to GOA, but that for POINT DE GALLE; because it was to be feared that by going to GOA the sailors, who are much addicted to drink, would say or commit some folly which would give an occasion to the Inquisition for arresting them, joined to which there are in that town many facilities for dissipation, so that when it would be time to put to sea again, the captain would not find, it may be, a single man in his vessel. But by going to POINT DE GALLE there would be no danger, it

would be to go to friends, and we should be able to change to another vessel in order to continue the voyage; this in fact happened. However we were always in terror lest some tempest might not come and throw us on land, not having a single anchor left to moor the vessel with.

Among our sailors there was, by chance, one who had served for many years in the same vessel, who said that certainly there was at the bottom of the hold a very heavy anchor, but that it had only one arm. Although we desired to get it, we foresaw great difficulty on account of the quantity of goods which were in the vessel. Nevertheless it was resolved to move the whole, and four or five very skilful carpenters, who had worked at the house at GOMBROON for the Company, and were returning to BATAVIA, said that if they could only get up the anchor they would fix it so as to work as well as if it had two arms. This they did, and in two days both the anchor and the rudder were in a condition to serve us. It cost three or four cases of SHIRAZ wine, which were distributed to all those who assisted in removing the goods and getting out the anchor—for the purpose of inciting them to work well.

Eight days afterwards we found that we were off POINT DE GALLE, and we took in some of our sails in order to gain the port, one of the worst in all INDIA, on account of the rocks, which are at a level with the water in many places. It is for this reason that as soon as a vessel is sighted at sea the Governor-General sends two pilots to direct and bring her into port. But as we had both weather and sea sufficiently favourable, the captain and pilots, who had never been there before, not realising that we had passed

the reefs, which they thought were nearer to land, and seeing that no pilot came to bring the vessel into port, turned to sea again; this caused much surprise to the Governor and the pilots, who did not come out because they saw that we had passed the danger. The wind then commencing to change, drove us 9 or 10 leagues out to sea, and consequently we were two or three days beating about before we could remake the port. If the wind had driven us a little farther to sea we should have been obliged to go to winter at MASULIPATAM, in the Gulf of BENGAL. At length the pilots of POINT DE GALLE having come out for us, we entered the port and landed on the 12th of May. I immediately went to visit the Governor MADSUERE,[1] who is at present General at BATAVIA, and he did me the honour to invite me to eat always with him during the sojourn which I made there.

I did not find anything remarkable in this town, and there remains scarcely anything but the ruins, and mines, and the marks which the cannons made when the Dutch besieged it and drove away the Portuguese. The Company gave land and sites for building to those who wished to dwell there, and had already erected two good bastions, which command the port. If it had accomplished the design which it then formed, it would have made of this town a fine place.

The Dutch, before they had captured all the settlements which the Portuguese had in the Island of CEYLON, from whence they have been entirely driven, persuaded themselves that the trade of this island would yield them enormous sums if they were sole

[1] In the edition of 1713 he is called Masudere.

masters. This might have happened if they had kept to the agreement which they had made with the King of KANDY—who is the King of the country—when they began to make war with the Portuguese. But they broke faith with him, and that gave them a very bad character in these parts.

The treaty with the King of KANDY was so drawn that this King was always to be in charge of the passes, with 18,000 or 20,000 men, to prevent the reinforcements which might come from COLOMBO, NEGOMBO, MANAR, and many other places which the Portuguese held along the coast. And the Dutch were to bring in their large vessels as many troops as were sufficient to besiege POINT DE GALLE both by sea and land. They agreed, also, with the King of ACHIN that he should hold the coast with a sufficient number of small armed frigates, as he always maintained a good number of them.

The Dutch, having taken the town, began to repair some breaches, seeing which the King of KANDY sent to know when he might come there to receive possession of it. For it had been agreed in the event of the Dutch taking the town that they would give it back to the King, who by way of recompense was to give them a certain quantity of cinnamon every year, and, in case of necessity, to aid them as far as he was able. The Dutch replied to what the King had communicated to them, that they were willing to hand over the town to him provided he paid them the costs of the war, which they said amounted to many millions; but if he had possessed three kingdoms like his own he could not have paid half the sum. In truth money is scarce in that country, and I do not believe that the

King has ever seen a sum equal to 50,000 *écus*[1] at one time. His whole trade consisted in cinnamon and elephants; but since the Portuguese have been in INDIA he has derived no profit from either. As for the elephants, that is a small matter, for only five or six are captured in a year; but at the same time those of CEYLON are more highly esteemed than all the elephants of other countries, because they are more courageous in war; and there is not a King in INDIA who does not desire to have one. There should be related here a thing which it is possible one may have a difficulty in believing, but it is nevertheless quite true; it is that when any king or noble possesses one of these CEYLON elephants, and when there is brought into its presence some other one from the places where the merchants obtain them, as ACHIN, SIAM, ARAKAN, PEGU, the Kingdom of BHUTÁN, the Kingdom of ASSAM, the territories of COCHIN and the coast of MELINDA,[2] as soon as these latter elephants see one of CEYLON, by a natural instinct they pay it reverence by placing the ends of their trunks on the ground, and then elevating them.[3]

[1] £11,250.

[2] This reference to Melinda would seem to imply that the African elephant was domesticated in Tavernier's time (see vol. i, p. 277).

[3] Sir Emerson Tennent, alluding to the common belief that Tavernier had made a statement to this effect, adds that "a reference to the original shows that Tavernier's observations are not only fanciful in themselves but are restricted to the supposed excellence of the Ceylon animal *in war*." This statement is simply incomprehensible, since Tavernier's original passage, which is here translated, is quoted in full in a footnote on the same page (*Nat. Hist. Ceylon*, pp. 209, 210.) (See *ante*, Book I, chap. xviii, p. 278.) Fryer also says that the Ceylon elephants exact homage from all others, which prostrate themselves submissively before them (*Account*, Calcutta Edition, p. 169). In reference to the fact that the elephants of Sumatra have points of affinity with the Ceylon variety, it has been suggested that the original stock of the Sumatra ele-

It is true that the elephants which the great nobles keep, when brought before them to be examined whether they are in good condition, make a sort of salute thrice with their trunk. This I have often seen; but they are trained to it, and their masters teach them to do so when young.

The King of ACHIN, with whom the Dutch failed to keep their promise, had other means for revenging himself than the King of KANDY, because the Dutch were not allowed to ship the pepper which comes from his territories; for a long time he refused them permission, and even declared war upon them; and without this pepper their trade could not prosper.

It is the kind of pepper which we call "small," and all Orientals prefer it, because without skinning or crushing they place it whole on their plates of rice, as I have elsewhere said.[1] At length the Dutch were compelled to agree with the King of ACHIN, and ambassadors were sent from one side and the other for this purpose. He who arrived on behalf of the King at BATAVIA, was treated with much magnificence. When he was about to depart the General and all his Council entertained him splendidly, and the ladies sat at table —this surprised this Muhammadan ambassador very much, who was not accustomed to see women drink and eat with men. But that which astonished him still more was that at the end of the repast, after having drunk many healths, they drank that of the Queen of

phants was introduced in the domesticated condition from Ceylon. It is on record that some elephants sent as a present to the Sultan of Sulu (or Soolo) by the East Indian Company, as he was unable to maintain them, were let loose on Cape Unsang in Borneo. (See Hornaday, *Two Years in the Jungle*, p. 220.)

[1] See p. 14.

ACHIN, who ruled the state during the minority of the King, her son. And in order to honour him still more, the General desired Madame la Générale to kiss the ambassador. The King and Queen of ACHIN did not receive the ambassador who was sent to them from BATAVIA less well. He was M. CROC, who for fifteen years suffered from a languishing sickness; and it was believed that some one had administered to him some kind of slow poison. On the occasion of the third audience which he had with the King, who knew that he had lived for so long a time in languor and without appetite, he asked him if he had ever formerly kept any girl of the country, and how he had left her, if by mutual agreement or whether he had sent her away by force. He admitted that he had left one in order to get married in his own country, and that since that time he had always been languishing and indisposed, upon which the King said to three of his physicians, who were by his side, that having heard the cause of the ambassador's sickness he would give them fifteen days to cure him, and that if they did not accomplish it in that time he would cause them all to be executed. These physicians having replied that they would answer to him for the cure of the ambassador, provided he consented to take the remedies which they would give him, M. CROC resolved to consent. They gave him in the morning a decoction, and in the evening a small pill, and at the end of nine days a great fit of vomiting seized him. It was thought he would die of the strange efforts which he made; and at length he vomited a bundle of hair as large as a small nut, after which he was at once healed. Subsequently the King took him to a rhinoceros hunt, and invited him to give the

mortal shot to the animal. As soon as it was killed they cut off the horn, which the King also presented to the ambassador; and at the conclusion of the hunt there was a great feast. At the end of it the King drank to the health of the General of BATAVIA and his wife, and ordered one of his own wives to kiss the ambassador. On his departure he presented him with a pebble of the size of a goose's egg, in which large veins of gold were to be seen as you see the tendons in the hand of a man, and it is thus that gold occurs in this country.

M. CROC, when at SURAT as chief of the factory, broke the pebble in two, and gave half to M. CONSTANT, who, subordinate to him, held the highest authority there, to whom, when he was returning to Holland, I offered 150 *pistoles* for it in order to present it to the late Monseigneur LE DUC D'ORLEANS, but he would not consent to part with it.

CHAPTER XXI

Departure of the Author from the Island of CEYLON, *and his arrival at* BATAVIA

ON the 25th of *July*[1] we left POINT DE GALLE on a different vessel from that upon which we had arrived, because, on its being examined, it was found that it could not make the journey without danger. Accordingly, all the goods were discharged from it and transhipped to that in which we embarked for BATAVIA.

On the 2d of June[2] we crossed the line, and on the 6th reached the island called NAZACOS.[3] On the 17th we sighted the coast of SUMATRA, on the 18th the island of INGAGNE,[4] and on the 19th the island of FORTUNE. On the 20th we saw several other small islands, and the coast of JAVA, and among these islands there are three which are called PRINCE'S ISLANDS. On the 21st we saw the island of BANTAM, and on the 22d we anchored in the roads at BATAVIA.

[1] The July of the original and the June of the edition of 1713 appear to be both wrong, as the month must, I think, have been May.

[2] In the 1713 edition this is given, I think incorrectly, as July—June appears to be correct.

[3] Not identified, but it may be remarked that *nusa* is Javanese for a small island, and like *pulo* is used as a prefix to the true name. (Crawfurd, *Dictionary*).

[4] Not identified; perhaps it may be for Indragiri, a Malay State on the coast of Sumatra.

On the following day I landed, and went to salute General VANDERLIN and M. CARON[1] the Director-General, who was the second person in the council.

On the 25th, two days after my arrival, the General sent one of his guards to invite me to dinner, where there were assembled, M. CARON, two other councillors, the *Avocat-Fiscal*, the Major, and their wives. Whilst we were at table they conversed about the news from foreign countries, and principally of the court of the King of PERSIA, and after dinner some began to play at backgammon, while awaiting the coolness in order to take exercise outside the town by the river's bank, where there are very fine places for bathing. As for the General, he went to his office, where he asked me to accompany him. After some conversation on indifferent matters he asked me for what purpose I had come to BATAVIA. I told him that I had principally come to see so renowned a place; and having had an opportunity of doing service to the Company at the request of the Chief of the factory at VENGURLA, I had been led to undertake the voyage, as he might see for himself by the letter which he had written to him. I told him, at the same time, as the Commander of VENGURLA had requested me, of the discovery which had been made by a *caravel* of PORTUGAL, which a storm had driven into a bay situated 30 leagues from the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, as I have related at length in the description of the town of GOA.[1] The Commander thought that the General

[1] M. Caron was afterwards appointed Chief of the French Company at Surat. (See *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. iv, p. 451.)

[2] See Book I, chap. xiv, p. 216, for accounts of this discovery. The details there given are somewhat different.

would be able to send a small vessel there from BATAVIA, and that by conveying the news I would do a service to the Company; and it was also with this in view that he offered me a passage in the vessel which was in the roads at VENGURLA. After I had finished my account of the matter to the General, he thanked me somewhat coldly, as being a thing of small importance, although I have since learnt that he sent to seek for the bay, but the vessel was unable to find it. After about half an hour's interview I left him in his office, into which three councillors entered at the same moment, and as I left he said that if I would wait for a little we should go together to promenade outside the town. I then joined Madame la Générale, and the other ladies who were keeping her company, and one hour afterwards two trumpets commenced to sound. The General and Madame, with four of the wives of the councillors, entered a carriage with six horses, and the councillors rode on horseback. I was allotted a horse with Persian saddle and bridle, the furniture of which was very beautiful. There are always forty or fifty saddle-horses in the stables of the General, for there is not a vessel that does not bring him some, either from ARABIA or PERSIA or other places. A company of cavalry marched in front of the General's carriage, each dragoon having a collar of buffalo skin and long scarlet hose with silver lace, the hat with a bundle of plumes, the great scarf with a fringe of silver, the sword-guard and spurs of massive silver, and all the horses had very beautiful trappings. Three bodyguards marched at each door carrying halberds, and being well clad. Each had a doublet of yellow satin, and the upper part of the hose of scarlet covered

with silver lace, and below with yellow silk, and very fine linen. Behind the carriage there marched a company of infantry, besides another which went an hour or two in advance to clear the way. As for the councillors, when they move about, as well as when they are in their houses, they have each two musketeers for their guard, and when they wish for horses the General's equerry sends them what they require. They have also their small boats in order to row about either on the sea, the river, or on the canals, where each of them has his garden. Our promenade was not long, the reason being that when leaving the fort two vessels were seen approaching, no one being able to say what they were. As the General and councillors were impatient to hear the news, they returned to the fort sooner than they had intended; and as soon as we had re-entered I took leave of the General, the councillors, and the ladies, and withdrew to my lodging.

During three or four days I received numerous visits, this caused me no small expenditure, because custom requires that when any one comes to see you you offer him wine. One hundred *écus* are soon spent; for a pint of wine, of about PARIS measure, holds but four glasses. Spanish wine, when cheap, costs an *écu* at BATAVIA, Rhine and French wine cost two, and one must pay 40 *sols* for a pint of beer, whether English or of BRONCEVIMONT.[1]

The greatest joy known to the people of BATAVIA is experienced when vessels come from HOLLAND, for they bring all kinds of drinks, which the publicans buy from the Company, it being permitted also to every

[1] These prices in English money were, for Spanish wine, 4s. 6d.; for Rhine and French wine, 9s.; and for a pint of beer, 3s.

private person to buy them. But be it that they find more pleasure in drinking at the publichouses than in their own houses, be it that it is more convenient to them, when they wish to amuse themselves together, they generally make all their rejoicings in these places. It is a time of great festival when these new drinks arrive, and you meet women and girls in the streets who wager you for a pint or two of wine or beer. Whether one loses or gains, out of honour one never allows the women to pay, and there come others in addition at the same time to whom the occasion demands you should drink their healths. This often empties the purses of young people.

CHAPTER XXII[1]

Concerning an affair which was raised unseasonably for the Author in the Council at BATAVIA

THERE are two Councils in BATAVIA, the Council of the fort, at which the General presides, where the affairs of the Company are discussed; and the Council that sits in the Town Hall, and deals with the police and the minor disputes which arise among the citizens. M. FAURE, one of the members of this Town Council, was among the number of those who came to visit me on my arrival, and during the space of nine or ten days he, together with one of his friends, was with me four times. Both spoke frequently of M. CONSTANT, who had been commander at GOMBROON, and was for many years the second person of the factory at SURAT, where he had amassed much wealth. He had often trusted me with a part of it, and we had always been good friends. One day, as I was about leaving SURAT in order to go to the diamond mine, he asked me to purchase (diamonds) on his account to the extent of 16,000[2] rupees worth, giving me a letter of credit for

[1] This chapter is omitted in the English Translation by John Phillips, but an abstract of its contents is included in chapter xxi.

[2] £1800. (See Index for further accounts of this traffic carried on by Tavernier on behalf of the Dutch officials.)

At a later period we find English officials engaging in the same trade.

that sum at GOLCONDA, where it was paid to me, and I invested it as he desired. I expected on my return to find him at SURAT; but during my journey he had received orders to start for BATAVIA at once, and as soon as he got there he married the widow of General VANDIME and went with her to HOLLAND. I was much surprised on my return to SURAT to find that he had left without giving orders to any of his friends, whether Dutch or English, to receive what I had for him, and send it to him by one of the vessels which go to ENGLAND. Having remained at SURAT about two months, and wishing to travel, in order not to risk what M. CONSTANT had entrusted to me I placed the whole in the hands of SIR FRANCIS BRETON, who was the second person in the factory of the English Company at SURAT, who, at M. CONSTANT'S request, afterwards forwarded it to him in HOLLAND. I had previously asked the Dutch Commander, named ARNEBAR, to be good enough to take charge of this parcel, he being a friend of M. CONSTANT; but he excused himself altogether, telling me that if the General or Council at BATAVIA came to know that he had such a thing in his hands they would treat him as a receiver who had not declared, in other words, he would be deposed from his office and all his property confiscated.

One day, then, while I was at BATAVIA, M. FAURE, whom I have just mentioned, came to see me with

(See Colonel Yule's recently published account of the Pitt diamond in *Hedge's Diary, Hakluyt Society.*) Another Pitt, who was Governor of Madras from 1698 to 1709, namely, George Morton Pitt, appears to have been somewhat notable, also, for his private trade in diamonds. (See *Kistna Manual*, p. 106 *n.*, and Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time*, p. 505.)

three others, bringing a large bottle of Rheims wine and another of English beer. For my part I had contributed a collation, and as we began to drink they asked me if I had not heard the news of M. CONSTANT which had come by land while I was at SURAT; to which I replied that I had not received any, neither by sea nor land, since he had left BATAVIA. They expressed surprise at this reply, and told me that they were much astonished, that having been such great friends, and having done such considerable trade together which lasted still, he had not made me acquainted with his news. I saw from the first that they were come with no other design than to seek to discover whether I had with me the parcel of diamonds which I had bought at the mine for M. CONSTANT, or whether I had left it with some Dutchman to send to him. I thought it advisable to remove this doubt from their minds, and that unless I did so they would be unable to drink the wine they had brought, with comfort. Without keeping them longer in suspense, therefore, I told them that I was astonished that they had not spoken to me of this matter on the first occasion when they had done me the honour to visit me, and I perceived clearly that they wished to know if the last time I had been at the diamond mine M. CONSTANT had not given me a commission to buy for him; that they need not have brought wine for that purpose to make me drink, because I was altogether different from the majority of men, who speak much and say more than they know when they have drunk, but, as for me, it is then I talk least; nevertheless, since I desired to satisfy them, so that they might not have any regret for their good wine, I would tell them

the truth frankly. It is true, then, I told them, that M. CONSTANT not only gave me a commission to buy him a parcel of diamonds, but he has also given me money to pay for them, and I purchased them for 16,000 rupees. I had no sooner finished speaking than M. FAURE, turning to the three others, "Gentlemen," said he, "you will bear me witness that M. TAVERNIER has 16,000 rupees worth of diamonds for M. CONSTANT, which he left me an order to receive when he parted for HOLLAND." I replied to him without disturbing myself, that if he wished for them he would have to run after them, but that I did not believe he would overtake them; that it was more than six months since I had dispatched them by land, and that I was much surprised at his having taken this commission, and wondered how M. CONSTANT and he could have known that I would go to BATAVIA. I saw that it annoyed him to find that he had not got what he expected, and as they did not wish to drink any more they all four departed.

On the following day, early in the morning, an officer of the Company handed me a summons, which cited me to appear at 11 o'clock before the council of the town, where the *Avocat Fiscal* was present to take the case in hands on behalf of the Company. I did not fail to be present at the Town Hall at the hour indicated, when, immediately, these gentlemen made me enter, and with great compliments asked me if it was true that M. CONSTANT had asked me to make an investment in diamonds to the amount of 16,000 rupees, and also where they were. I said that as regards the purchase of the diamonds I had indeed made it, but that I knew not where they were, because

more than six months had elapsed since I had forwarded them to him from SURAT by land. Upon that these gentlemen of the law delivered sentence, by which it was affirmed that it was not for M. FAURE to mix in the matter, but it was for the *Avocat Fiscal* to follow it up; that at that time M. CONSTANT was in the Company's service, and that, without having defrauded, he could not out of his wages have amassed so large a sum. At this mention of his having defrauded the Company I was unable to prevent myself from laughing; this astonished them, and the President of the Council asked me why I laughed. I told him that it was at seeing that he was astonished at the fact that M. CONSTANT had defrauded the Company of 16,000 rupees, and that if he had only carried off so much, it would have been a small matter, adding that there was scarcely a servant of the Company who had held the offices which M. CONSTANT had held, and had enjoyed the opportunity of trading, as he had, without fear of the *Fiscal*, who had not at least made 100,000 *écus*.[1] There were two or three in the Council, then present, who were uneasy at hearing me talk in this way, as these remarks particularly affected them. For to say the truth, the commanders and those subordinate to them in authority in the factories know well how to appropriate large sums for their own benefit, to the great detriment of the Company; and as they cannot do so without having an understanding with the broker, he does the same on his own account, those below him also taking what they can. I made an estimate once of all the money of which the Company is defrauded on the trade in each

[1] £22,500.

factory, and I ascertained that as they annually defraud it in all the factories taken together to the extent of 1,500,000 or 1,600,000 *livres*,[1] they have abundant opportunity for consoling themselves. For to speak but of PERSIA alone, I have known commanders who, both by the sale of spices and on the purchase of silks, have placed apart for themselves in one year more than 100,000 *piastres*.[2] They practice marvellous artifices which it is difficult for the Company, especially the directors and shareholders of the Company, who are in HOLLAND, to discover. For, as regards the commanders in INDIA, the fact must become very patent before the General of BATAVIA and his council have recourse to law, and most frequently the commanders close the mouth of the *Avocat Fiscal*, to whom they make a present which amounts to more than the third part which would come to him if all were confiscated, another third belongs to the Company, and the other to the Hospital. Thus all passes in silence, for there is not one of these commanders who has not his patron at BATAVIA, to whom he sends valuable presents yearly, joined to which there is not one of these gentlemen of the council who has not done the same himself. Moreover, if any one who is cognisant of an injury done by a commander to the Company reports it to the General, he is certain never to be appointed to any factory, and sooner or later an opportunity is found for removing him from the office which he holds, and he is sent as a soldier to some island to end his life miserably.

As for the trade which these commanders do on their own account, there is no one who knows better

[1] £112,500 to £120,000. [2] £22,500.

about it than the poor sailors, who being sometimes very badly treated by the commanders themselves, or the officers of the vessels, when they go on shore report to the chief of the factory that such an one has so many bales of goods on his private account. Most frequently the chief of the factory, who knows his part, sends to advise the person to whom the goods belong to have them removed, and to arrange to have them carried on shore by night. In order to give him time to discharge all, the informer is so well supplied with drink that he is drunk for one or two days, and when all has been removed the commander goes to the vessel to make an examination, well assured that he will find nothing. Then the poor sailor or soldier, for the falsehood which they force him to believe he has told, is severely punished, his wages are confiscated, and in most cases he is sent for three or four years to work on the galley which goes to load up with stones. There are, then, some of these commanders who have defrauded the Company, and have returned to HOLLAND with great booty, having 400,000 or 500,000 *livres*[1] worth of diamonds, pearls, ambergris, and other goods which occupy but small space. For if all is not well concealed, and if the Company is able to discover it, it is lost for them, and their wages are confiscated. But they have wonderful ways for escaping, even when they have bulky goods, as calicoes and other things which occupy much space, for all cannot go to the places where diamonds are to be purchased, and moreover they more frequently experience loss than gain by carrying them, while on coarse goods there is always much profit to be made.

[1] £30,000 to £37,500.

As the captain and other officers of the vessel strive to do private trade as well as the commanders, knowing that it will be difficult to take their goods out of the vessels without being discovered, they sometimes discharge them on the coast of NORWAY, making believe that it is bad weather which has driven them thither. Moreover, when the Dutch are at war with the English, they send vessels of war to meet those coming from INDIA, and into these vessels those who wish to defraud the Company tranship their bales of goods, before arriving in HOLLAND. They also have recourse, for the same purpose, to the fleet of herring fishers when they meet them. In short, there is no kind of artifice of which they do not make use. But when the Company entertains a suspicion that any one has exceeded, it orders the commanders to undress and put on other clothes, and more than once diamonds have been found in those which were taken off. In conclusion, it has been remarked that the majority of those who have defrauded the Company and have returned to HOLLAND with great wealth have not left their heirs any the richer; all this wealth being, as it were, evaporated in a few years. This proves that wealth ill-acquired does not profit.

Returning to the affair which had been stirred up against me at BATAVIA. On the sentence which the members of the Council had given, that the *Avocat Fiscal* should take the cause in hand on the Company's behalf, three days afterwards he sent me many pages of paper containing written charges, so that I might reply to each. The first demanded that I should declare to what extent M. CONSTANT and I had traded together since we had known one another. The others

were only nonsense, and among others that which ordered me to reply to them at all, I, who was in no wise responsible to the Company, and had only come to BATAVIA to render it a service, and consequently need trouble myself very little about the *Fiscal's* order. There was a special query which stated that the General and his council wished to know what M. CONSTANT had done at BANDAR ABBÁS, where he had been sent as commander; that they were aware of the fact that we were together day and night, and that consequently I must be well acquainted with his affairs. They were right in this, but I was not bound to render an account to them. This lasted fully four or five weeks, during which an officer came to summon me several times to accompany him to the Town Hall to give a reply. That which I gave was always the same, that I knew nothing of M. CONSTANT'S affairs, and that when he did anything he did not call me in to give him advice. As they saw they could get nothing from me by sweetness, they commenced to threaten me, saying they would arrest me. I replied boldly that I did not fear them, and that if they arrested me I had the honour to serve a Prince who was the late Monseigneur LE DUC D'ORLEANS, who would get me in safety out of their hands, and would himself resent the affront they had done me. At the same time I departed from their presence without saying another word, and they also said nothing to me. Fifteen days passed without their speaking of this affair, and during this time I went to take exercise and even to dine with some of these gentlemen. One day the *Avocat Fiscal*, who had read much and liked to hear about foreign countries, asked me to supper; when we had left the table he

took me apart and told me that he had to summon me on the following day, having received an order from the General, who wished to know, absolutely, what I had seen M. CONSTANT do at GOMBROON. "If it is to say what I have seen," I replied, "I shall do so willingly, but I desire to be in the presence of the judges." Morning having come, the officer did not fail to summon me. I followed him forthwith, and having entered the chamber, the President asked me at first if I would tell them something of what I had seen of M. CONSTANT. I said, "I would satisfy him, and that I desired to give the account at full length," with which the President and the Council told me they were quite content. As they had ordered silence for me, and I saw they awaited what I had to say to them with impatience, I spoke to them in the following manner:—

"The day on which M. CONSTANT disembarked at GOMBROON the *Khán* or Governor of the town and country made much of him, and kept him to supper, together with those who had accompanied him. The repast was magnificent, and the dishes were much better prepared than usual; I have been at many feasts of *Kháns* or Governors of Provinces in PERSIA, where they know of nothing but ragouts, not even understanding how to roast a fowl properly. But at this repast all was well arranged, and it had the appearance as if a *Frank* cook had a hand in it. All the *baladines* of GOMBROON were present, to dance in their own manner according to custom, and the repast was accomplished with much gaiety. On the following day M. CONSTANT had at dinner several *Franks*, and at the close of the repast the *Khán* sent one of his

officers to present his compliments to Commander CONSTANT, and to tell him that he would come to supper with him; this he received very well, in consequence of his appreciation of the honour which the *Khán* wished to do him. Compliments being finished, the Commander took a large glass and drank to the health of the *Khán*, and all those who were at table did likewise. As soon as the officer had left, the Commander asked some of those who were dining with him, in what manner a governor should be treated when he did the honour to a commander of coming to see him at home; there was one who told him that the first care he should have would be that as soon as night had come he should light numbers of lamps, both out and inside the house. In that country these consist of little saucers full of oil attached to the walls of the house, and at a distance of about one foot from each other. But the Commander desiring to do more honour than that to the *Khán* and to the Company, instead of these lamps ordered white wax candles to be placed throughout, and both within and without the house there was light everywhere. The *Khán* declared himself to be highly pleased with this liberal expenditure, which was done to specially honour him; and all the merchants, both Christians and Muhammadans, were also surprised at it. It is true," said I to these members of the Council, "that you know that this wax does not cost so much to the Company as it does to private persons, because all the Dutch vessels which come from MOCHA carry much of it, as it is very cheap there.

"The *baladines* were present in large numbers at this repast, in order to amuse the company with their

dances and their graceful attitudes, for there was money to be earned, as they know that the commanders pay them well, and that it is not with them as with the *Khán*, who generally considers he has paid liberally when he gives them supper.

"On the following day those who were in charge of these *baladines* (for each troupe had an old woman as guardian and directress, whom the *baladines* call their mother) came to pay their respects to M. CONSTANT, who showed himself so liberal toward them that there was not one who asked for anything from the guests—this is very contrary to their usual custom. Some of those who had slept there, and had passed all the night in making these women dance, were much surprised, on leaving in the morning, at not being compelled to put their hands in their purses, and took occasion to extol the generosity of the Commander who had so liberally paid for all. Throughout the night the signals which were on the terrace of the lodge were fired, and at each health a dozen were fired to warn the vessels to make a salute.

"Two hours before sunrise the *Khán* rose from the place where he had seated himself on arrival, which was where they had drunk and eaten, and his officers bore him away, observing that the wine began to heat him. As soon as he had left, a part of the company returned to eat and drink and the others to see the *baladines* dance, and the debauch lasted till ten o'clock in the morning. Each one, when leaving, remarked to another, 'It must be admitted that this new Commander is honourable, and does all things with a good grace.'

"When M. CONSTANT," I continued to these

gentlemen of the Council, "arrived at GOMBROON, and had to go to the dwelling of the *Khán*, the finest horses in the Company's stable were brought to him. That which was for the Commander had rich brocaded trappings, but as the bridle was only of silver he appeared to be surprised at it, and asked why there was not a golden bridle on his horse, considering that he was not inferior to the other commanders who had preceded him at GOMBROON. They told him that, by order of the Company, the Commander VANDERLIN had sent the two golden bridles which were at GOMBROON to BATAVIA, the gold of one of which weighed 600, and of the other 450 *ducats*, and that it had been ordered that, for the future, no commander should use one of gold on his horse, but must content himself with one of silver. As I saw that this annoyed M. CONSTANT, I told him privately that it would be easy for him to have a golden bridle on his horse without the Company being able to reproach him. That he had only to send to the *Khán* the present which he had to make him on behalf of the Company on a little more liberal scale than had the other commanders, his predecessors, and he should see that he would soon have a golden bridle. M. CONSTANT believed me, and made a very handsome present to the *Khán*.

"These presents consist generally of all kinds of spices, porcelain, Japanese cabinets, Dutch cloths, and other things of that kind. But the best part of the present was a ring of diamonds for which he had paid me 1500 *écus*;[1] and 1000 *ducats* of gold with which the King caused a golden bridle to be made, which he sent as a present to the Commander; it weighed but

[1] £337 : 10s.

643 *ducats* of gold, the balance having remained in the *Khán's* purse. It is the custom in PERSIA, when a stranger makes a present to a great person, that he gives another in return, but certainly when one makes one to a King he does not ever receive in return nearly the value of that which he has given. The *Khán* was altogether amazed with so magnificent a present, and although, according to custom, he should have sent his, on the following day, which is usually a valuable horse, and sometimes two, he waited for five or six days, because it required that time to make the bridle. As soon as it was finished the *Khán* sent two fine horses to the Commander, one with the bridle of gold, and the other with a bridle of silver, the saddles being of the Turkish pattern with brocade of gold and silver. Out of politeness it was necessary that the Commander when mounting his horse had the golden bridle put on, and thus the Company was not able to say anything."

This was the account which I gave to the Council of BATAVIA of what I had seen at GOMBROON in reference to M. CONSTANT, and it should be remarked, before going further, that all the presents which the kings and great nobles make to the commanders and the other principal officers of the Company ought to be handed over, when they go to BATAVIA, to the charge of the General of the Council as property belonging to the Company, but they are sometimes allowed to retain them.

After having spoken in this way to these gentlemen of the Council of BATAVIA, and having told them ingenuously what M. CONSTANT had done during the first days after his arrival at GOMBROON, they wished

to know what had happened subsequently, and told me that they had already been sufficiently informed of what I had just told them, but wished that I should let them know what trade M. CONSTANT had done. It was then I began to speak to them in a different way, and told them I was not dependent on them and was not their spy. That if they wished to know so much they should have ascertained it when he was at BATAVIA, or they might write to him in HOLLAND, and would be able by that means to satisfy themselves. The President, who saw that I mocked them, rose from his place to talk with some of the councillors, and then told me that they would give me four days to reflect on my reply to the Council, both in reference to the trade which I had done with M. CONSTANT, and that which I knew of his having done with other persons. Upon this I retired, without replying, and went to dine with one of the councillors without speaking further of the matter.

The four days having expired, I waited for them to send for me, but they delayed eight days longer, after which they sent an officer, who told me that the President would expect me at the Council at 11 o'clock. Having entered the chamber, the *Avocat Fiscal* delivered a long discourse, referring to my refusal to reply to the questions which had been given me in writing, and as for himself he required that I should be placed in *gesselin*, *i.e.* under arrest, until I had replied. I replied to that "that I was not the least astonished at what he said, and that I believed the gentlemen of the Council would think more than once before they carried it into execution; that if he wished me to reply to what he asked, it was necessary

to convey it to me in a language which I understood, and not in Dutch." He replied to this "that he had often heard me speak Dutch," to which I responded "that in truth I did know something of the language, but did not know enough to enable me to read and understand chicanery." As I perceived that he was offended by the use of the word chicanery, I said to him again in a firmer tone than before, "that I was not in receipt of wages from the Company, and that I had not been appointed to observe the conduct and actions of M. CONSTANT." The Council at length ordered the *Fiscal* to give me his questions in French; this he did, and fixed the period for replying at eight days. I laughed at all these questions, being well assured that I was able to put an end to the proceedings whenever I pleased. I deferred replying for another eight days beyond the eight which they had given me; but seeing that the Council began to be annoyed, I thought that it was time to put an end to the affair.

As soon as the *Fiscal* had given me his questions in French, I communicated them to M. POTRE, the ablest counsel in BATAVIA, who told me that, not being employed by the Company, I was not obliged to reply to any of these articles, nevertheless, being desirous of putting an end to the affair, I went to the President's house shortly after sunrise, and he came to receive me in his sleeping garment, "preferring," he said, "to come to me in that condition rather than make me wait while he dressed." The reply which I made to this compliment was "that since he wished me absolutely to tell him all that I knew of M. CONSTANT, I would conceal nothing that had come to my knowledge, even

were it to the disadvantage of the General himself and many members of the Council, and of you yourself who urge me to speak," I added, after he had made his guard withdraw, and he and I remained alone. I told him, then, that "when leaving SURAT to go to the diamond mine, M. CONSTANT entrusted me with 44,000[1] rupees, asking me to expend it on diamonds, and especially on large stones, that my services would be well rewarded, and that as this sum belonged to the General he would be glad to have an opportunity of obliging him. Moreover, that the General himself had purchased from M. CONSTANT, when he visited BATAVIA, all the parcels I had sold him while he was the second in authority at the factory of SURAT. They were all stones which I had had cut, their value being more than 40,000 *écus*.[2] As for the pearls which the said M. CONSTANT had bought for the General during the time he was at HORMUZ, I did not exactly know the value, but I so far knew that they included two pear-shaped pearls which cost 170 *tomans*.[3] That I had also received somewhat considerable sums to invest for M. CARLES RENAL, M. CAM, and some others, and that he himself could not have forgotten that when M. CONSTANT left BATAVIA to go to be Commander in PERSIA, he entrusted to him 36,000 rupees,[4] asking him to give it to some of his friends to invest it in a parcel of diamonds. That the said M. CONSTANT expected to find me at SURAT in order to place this sum in my hands, but as I had left for HORMUZ some days previously on an English vessel, he thought to

[1] £4950. [2] £9000.
[3] £586 : 10s., the *toman* being equal to £3 : 9s.
[4] £4050.

find me there, where he would place the sum in my hands, supposing that during the same season I should return to INDIA, and to the diamond mine. And in order to make you see," I further said to the President, "how M. CONSTANT was devoted to your interest, he purchased with the greater part of your money goods of SIRONJ and BURHÁNPUR, and as soon as he arrived at GOMBROON he was offered 30 per cent profit on them. It is true, I added, that to calculate it at the rate which the other merchants have to pay it would only amount to 5 per cent, but he made all pass as if on the account of the Company, which neither pays the freight of the vessel nor the customs at GOMBROON, these two items amounting, in the case of the merchants, to 25 per cent. That when the vessel which had carried him, returned to BATAVIA, although the goods were not sold, he did not omit to write to you that he had refused 30 per cent profit in the hope of receiving more. That, however, three vessels arrived at GOMBROON laden with the same kinds of goods, so that he had difficulty in getting for them what they had cost in INDIA; this compelled him to give those which he had bought for you at the current price. That, nevertheless, M. CONSTANT had been so generous that he never asked anything from you, but that he had told me in private that he had lost more than 15 per cent by the transaction."

Having given all this detail to the President, he appeared to be very much alarmed, and besought me to make no noise about it, in which he did wisely, for I could have named others, all the addresses of the chiefs of the Company having come to my knowledge, and the principal part of the large sums which they

had invested in diamonds having passed through my hands. Observing then that the President did not wish to hear more, I took leave of him and went to tell my counsel all that had passed. His dwelling being near that of the President, I observed that the latter went to the fort, apparently to see the General. Between 11 o'clock and noon I was about to go the Town Hall to know what the *Avocat Fiscal* would say to me, because I knew that the President had gone there when leaving the fort, and that they had conversed together. But I met him half way, and approaching me with a laughing face he asked me where I was going. I replied that I was going to the Town Hall to reply to some of his questions. "I beg you," he replied quickly, "let us leave that affair to go and have dinner together. I was presented yesterday with two cases, one of French wine and the other of Rhine wine, we shall see which is the best. All I ask from you is a word written with your own hand, that you have nothing belonging to M. CONSTANT." This I gave very willingly, and in this way the whole process came to an end.

CHAPTER XXIII

The Author goes to see the King of BANTAM,[1] *and describes several adventures in connection therewith*

HAVING freed myself of an affair which had been raised so inconveniently for me, I forthwith formed a resolution to visit the King of BANTAM, having often heard that he was very fond of men of our nation; this it is easy for me to acknowledge on account of the good treatment which I received from him. As soon as one passes beyond the Kingdoms which yield obedience to the GREAT MOGUL, the language which is called Malay is, among Orientals, what the Latin language is in EUROPE.[2] On the voyage which I made to INDIA in the year 1638 I took with me one of my brothers[3] who was my junior, and who had a special talent for foreign languages. He required but five or six months in order to learn one, and he spoke eight

[1] In the native language, Bantan. It forms the western end of Java and has an area of 2568 geographical square miles. It is a mountainous country of volcanic formation. An English station was established there as early as 1602, but the Dutch ultimately proved the superior in this region. It is now a Dutch Province, having been taken possession of in 1643. (Crawfurd, *Dictionary*.)

[2] This is still the case, Malay being the *lingua franca* in these regions.

[3] This was his brother Daniel (see Introduction, pp. xii and xvi).

of them perfectly well. Moreover he was well made in person and was considered brave, of which he gave many proofs. Having one day fought a duel at BATAVIA with an infantry captain, over whom he obtained considerable advantage, General VANDIME, who liked men of spirit, and the principals of the council, who had much esteem for him, permitted the matter to pass in silence, and as a mark of the affection with which they regarded him they gave him permission to equip a vessel on his own private account and to trade in such goods as he pleased, with the exception of spices. Accordingly my brother bought a vessel of fourteen guns, with which he made many voyages. The first was to SIAM, where he made a sufficiently large profit, but he lost 5000 or 6000 *écus* of it to the King, who invited him to gamble with him and five of the principal nobles of his court, being much pleased at meeting a European who spoke the Malay language so well. It cannot be doubted that the profits are great in this kind of trade, since those who advance the money to traders, on loan, obtain for it cent per cent. But it is also true that they risk much, because if the vessel is lost the money is lost to them also, and this is called "the great speculation." He also made some voyages to the King of MACASSAR, but they did not yield so much profit as those to the Kingdoms of SIAM, TONQUIN, and COCHINCHINA.

Having, then, resolved to go to BANTAM, and not knowing the Malayan language, I took with me my brother, who was then at BATAVIA. It was necessary for me to have the permission of the General, according to custom, and he refused because he was not on good terms with the King of BANTAM. But two hours

afterwards M. CARON, who was at that time Director-General, sent to me to say that I might leave on my voyage for BANTAM in all safety, as soon as I wished. Accordingly I set out with my brother in a small barque which we hired to carry us to BANTAM, where, on arrival, our first visit was to the English President, who gave us a grand reception, and desired that we should not take other quarters but stay with him. He had still about fifty pots of MANTUA wine with which he desired to regale us. This wine is not exported in glass bottles, in which it goes bad, but in earthen pots, in which it always keeps good.

On the following morning my brother went to the King's palace, where he was well known and welcome, in order to ascertain when his majesty would be able to receive us. But as soon as the King knew that he was there, he would not allow him to return to fetch me, but ordered a messenger to be sent to seek me, and tell me that if I had any rare jewels I should please him by bringing them.

When the King's people came to conduct me to the palace, not seeing my brother with them, I was on the point of refusing to follow them, and I recalled before my eyes the manner in which the King of ACHIN had treated M. RENAUD, who had left NANTES with his brother on the vessels which M. DE MONTMORENCY sent to INDIA. I shall record the history of it in a few words, and this short digression will possibly not be displeasing to the reader. A French Company of Commerce was established for INDIA, whither it sent four vessels, three large and one small one of eight guns, upon which among others the two brothers RENAUD, who entered the service of the Com-

pany, embarked. Their journey was the shortest and the most fortunate of any ever heard of, as they arrived before BANTAM in less than four months. The King received them with great joy, and in eight or ten days' time he gave them as much pepper as they asked for, and at a very fair price, they having received it at more than 20 per cent cheaper than the Dutch do. But as our Frenchmen had not come for pepper only, but wished also to obtain information as to the trade in cloves, nutmegs, and mace, they sent the smaller vessel with the greater part of their money to MACASSAR, where the King's stores are generally full, as I have elsewhere said, the Dutch, with all their skill, not being able to prevent the people of this island trading with the other islands where the spices grow,[1] this annoys them much, since they desire to compel [the trade of] all other nations to pass through their hands.

Our Frenchmen having obtained their cargo of pepper so quickly at BANTAM, had not patience to await the return of the small vessel which they had sent to MACASSAR, and, in order to amuse themselves, decided to go to BATAVIA, that town not being more than 14 leagues distant from BANTAM. When the wind is favourable one can go there in a single tide, and they reached the roads at 8 o'clock in the morning. As soon as they had cast anchor the General of the French fleet sent to pay his compliments to the General of BATAVIA, who did not fail to reply to this civility by asking the General to come on shore that he might entertain him. He sent at the same time to those who remained in the vessel a quantity of refreshments, and especially Spanish and Rhine wine, with

[1] See p. 16.

instructions to those who carried it to make them drink well in order to intoxicate them. This order was so well followed that it was easy for the Dutch afterwards to set fire to the vessels according to the orders which they had received, and as, from the saloon of the fort where the General of BATAVIA receives strangers, all the roads are visible, one of the Indian Councillors who was at the table, seeing the flame, cried out saying that he believed the French vessels were on fire. The General of BATAVIA appeared to be much astonished, and the French General, who rightly concluded how it had come about, looking unmoved at the company: "But that," said he, "need not prevent us from continuing to drink—those who have lighted the fire shall pay for it." But he did not remember then that time was worth money, and the Dutch did not pay for a quarter of the damage. The French vessels were all burnt and the crews were saved on the *frigates* which were despatched for them in haste. The General of BATAVIA made the men liberal offers, which they refused, and they returned to BANTAM to await their small vessel. When it arrived they could find no better plan than to sell their goods and the vessel itself to the English, and the money was divided among all according to the rank of each. The English offered them a passage to EUROPE, but the General and some of the principal officers alone accepted it. The greater part of the French remained in INDIA and took service with the Portuguese, with whom there was some advantage to be gained at that time.

The Dutch did not ill-treat the French, alone, after this fashion, as they did a still more serious injury to the English. The English were the first to realise that

the voyage to JAPAN from SURAT, MASULIPATAM, and other places, was too dangerous to attempt in one stretch, without having some place in which to rest when the winds were contrary. They found it desirable to build a fort in the island of FORMOSA; and this has spared the loss of many vessels, in addition to the great profit which it brought them. The Dutch being jealous that the English should have seized so good a position as that, being the sole place in all the island where vessels could lie in safety, and as they were unable to take it by force, decided on treachery to accomplish their design. They sent two of their vessels, upon which they put their best soldiers, who feigned to have been very badly injured by a storm, making their vessels appear dismasted and broken in many directions, and all the soldiers pretending sickness. The English, touched by this misery, which was only a sham, invited the chief officers to come on shore in order to refresh themselves; this invitation they immediately accepted, ordering as many of their people as possible to leave the vessel, under pretext that they were ill, and could be treated better on shore than on board. While the principal officers were at table with the English, who had civilly invited them to dinner, and where, to accomplish their object, they took with them more persons than politeness permitted, and, in order to make more come on shore they ordered them to bring from the vessels, from time to time, many kinds of wine, and those who brought them had the word to remain there, of which the English, who were not on their defence, took no notice. The Dutch, seeing that they had drunk well, and that it was time to execute their design, started a quarrel with the English chief; and drawing their arms

which they had concealed, threw themselves upon the English garrison, whom they murdered without meeting with much resistance. It was thus they made themselves masters of the fort, which they possessed till they were driven from it by the Chinese. I could tell of many other treacheries by the Dutch,[1] but it is time to return to that which followed the burning of the French vessels in the BATAVIA roads.

The two brothers RENAUD, of whom I have above spoken, having received at BANTAM a small amount of money from the distribution which was made of the proceeds of the sale of the small vessel, and the goods which it had brought from MACASSAR, found means to go to GOA, and knew so well how to gain the good opinion of the Portuguese, that they were permitted to trade in all places where the Portuguese were in authority. In five or six years they had each earned to the value of 10,000 *écus*.[2] The elder one dealt in cottons and other coarse goods, and the younger in precious stones. The Portuguese had been accustomed to send three or four vessels to ACHIN every year to obtain pepper, elephants,[3] and gold, and they took there all kinds of white and coloured calicoes, especially blue and black. They also sent jewels to the King, because he loved and highly valued them. The two brothers RENAUD decided to go there, each for his own particular trade, the elder one carrying cottons, and the younger

[1] Tavernier subsequently resolved to do so, and in his third volume we have his accumulated charges against the Dutch, under the title, *Conduite des Hollandois en Asie.*

[2] £2250.

[3] This statement as to the importation of Sumatran elephants is of interest, but requires confirmation. See p. 317 for suggested origin of elephants in Sumatra.

jewels, amongst which he had four rings of the value of about 18,000 *écus*. Having arrived at ACHIN, they went with the other Portuguese to the King's palace, which is at 2 leagues from the sea, and each of them showed the King and the nobles who were with him whatever he had brought. As for the jewels, as soon as the King had cast his eyes on the four rings he desired to have them, but refused to pay more than 15,000 *écus* for them, but the younger RENAUD asked 18,000 *écus*. Not having been able to agree, he took them away, which much displeased the King, who sent for him on the following day. RENAUD, who had returned to the vessel, was a long time in doubt whether he should go to the King again or not; but the officers of the vessel advising him to go, he at length resolved to do so, and the King took the four rings for the 18,000 *écus*, which he paid him forthwith. But after RENAUD left the presence of the King no one ever knew what became of him; apparently he was secretly murdered in the palace.

This adventure came to my memory when I saw that the King of BANTAM sent to ask for me, and that my brother was not with those who came to summon me. Nevertheless, I resolved to go, and took with me 12,000 or 13,000 rupees worth of jewels, the largest part consisting of rings with diamonds arranged in roses, some of seven stones, others of nine, and others of eleven, with some bracelets of diamonds and rubies. I found the King with three of his captains and my brother seated in the Oriental fashion, and they had before them five large plates of rice of different colours. For their drink they had Spanish wine and brandy, with many kinds of sherbets. After I had saluted the

ing, and had presented him with a diamond ring, d another of blue sapphires, and a small bracelet of ımonds, rubies, and blue sapphires, he invited me to seated, and told the attendants to give me a cup of andy to excite my appetite. This cup held about lf a *septier* of PARIS,[1] but I refused the officer who pre- nted it to me; this astonished the King. My brother en asked him to excuse me, saying that I never ank brandy; but that as for Spanish wine I could ink a little of it, upon which the King ordered me to given some.

Whether because the repast had already lasted a ıg time, or that the King was impatient to see what had brought, he did not delay about finishing, and ated himself in a kind of armchair, the woodwork of ıich was gilt with gold and moulded like the frames our pictures. His feet and legs were uncovered, d underneath him there was a small Persian carpet of ld and silk. His garment was a piece of calico, a rt of which covered the body from the waist to the ees, the remainder being on his back and about his ck like a scarf. He wore as a head-band a kind of ndkerchief, having three ends; and his hair, which ıs very long, was twisted and bound together on the ɔ of his head. In place of slippers he had placed by ɛ side of his chair sandles with leather straps to go er the feet, like those attached to a spur, which were ıbroidered with gold and small pearls. Two of his ïcers stood behind him with large fans, the handles which were 5 or 6 feet long, and at the ends there ːre bundles of peacocks' plumes, which equalled in

[1] Equal to one-fourth of an English pint. It is apparently the one-enth of a *litre*, whence the name.

size the bottom of one of our barrels. On his right side there was an old black woman, who held in her hands a small mortar and a pestle of gold, in which she crushed the *betel* leaves, with which she mixed *areca*[1] nuts and dissolved seed pearls. When she saw that the whole was well pounded she placed her hand on the King's back, who at once opened his mouth, and she put the *betel* in with her fingers as women do who give pap to their infants,[2] because the King had no teeth; for he had eaten so much of these *betel* leaves, and smoked so much tobacco, that his teeth had fallen out.

The palace of the King of BANTAM has not had need of a very skilful architect. It is a square building surrounded by small lacquered pillars of different colours, 2 feet in height, against which one leans when seated. There are at the four corners four large pillars planted in the earth at 40 feet distance from each other, and the floor is covered by a mat woven of the bark of a kind of tree, as if it were a piece of cloth, and neither fleas nor bugs will approach it. The roof is of cocoanut fronds. Close by under another roof, sustained also by four large pillars, there were sixteen elephants, the most courageous of those which the King keeps (for he has a large number of them), which are destined for war and do not fear fireworks. For his guard he has about 2000 men, who were seated in squads under the shade of some trees. They are good soldiers both on sea and

[1] *Araque* in the original.

[2] I recently saw the famous hairy woman of Mandalay being supplied with *betel* by her Burmese attendant in much the same way; being blind, the packet had to be prepared for her and placed in her mouth.

land, strict Muhammadans who do not fear death. His harem, where his women dwell, must be a small affair, for when he had seen what I had brought he summoned two old black women, to whom he gave some of the jewels in order that they should go to show them. These two old women entered by a miserable door, and it had for enclosure only a kind of palisade, with earth mixed with cow dung between the posts. I observed that nothing was brought back of what he sent by these women, this made me conclude that I should stick to the price. Thus I sold him profitably what he took from me, and I was paid at once. After having drunk a cup of sherbet (while my brother drank spirits with the King) we took leave of him, and he made us promise that, on the following day towards evening, we should return to see him, because he wished to show me a dagger which he was having made after the Turkish fashion, but he had not got sufficient diamonds to cover the handle, and he desired that I should procure enough to finish it. We withdrew then with our money to the dwelling of the English, who were much astonished that the King had disbursed 20,000 rupees, saying that they believed it was the greatest part of his treasure.[1]

On the following day my brother and I went to see the King again at the hour which he had fixed for us, and we found him seated in the same place where he had been on the preceding day. A *Mulla* read and interpreted to him something from the *Koran*, which was in Arabic. The reading being finished, the

[1] As the value of the jewels is stated on page 352 to have been only 12,000 to 13,000 rupees, the transaction was a profitable one for Tavernier.

King and the *Mulla* rose to pray, which having bee concluded, the King sent for the dagger, the handl and sheath of which were of gold. The upper pai of the handle was already covered with diamond: and in the *plaque* which was at the end there was large one cut into facettes, which, as far as I coul judge, was worth at the least 15,000 or 16,000 *écus* The King told me that he had received it as a presen from the Queen of BORNEO, and that he had sent i to be cut at GOA, but he valued it much higher tha what I considered it to be worth. All the handle an likewise all the sheath were covered with *bezels*[2] applie without order, this proved to me that he did not under stand design. The King had no other stones, neithe diamonds nor rubies, nor anything to place in thes *bezels*, and he wished to induce me to obtain for hin some that would fit. I made him understand that tha would be impossible, and that he ought not to limi himself to these *bezels*. That when he had acquired th quantity of stones which were required to cover th dagger, other *bezels* of the shapes of the stones shoul be made, and that in EUROPE when we begin a worl of this kind we first arrange all the available stones o wax; this I exemplified to him at the same time, bu that was beyond his understanding, and he told m that he did not care to destroy a design which he ha himself taken the trouble to arrange, and to hav made for his own use. In spite of any reasons whic I could give for the purpose of escaping from a com mission which I was not able to execute, the Kin wished positively that I should take the dagger wit

[1] £3375 to £3600.

[2] *Bezels* (*chatons* in the original), mountings for individual stones.

me to BATAVIA. I represented to him then that as I was a stranger he risked much, and that I might go off with the dagger without again returning, but he said to me smiling that he feared nothing on that account, and that he well knew that Frenchmen were incapable of so disgraceful an action. At length, being unable to excuse myself further, I took charge of the dagger, and having taken leave of the King, my brother and I went to bid farewell to the English President, and to thank him for the civilities which we had received from him.

CHAPTER XXIV

The Author returns to BATAVIA, *and some days afterwards goes again to visit the King of* BANTAM, *giving an account, in connection therewith, of the dangerous extravagances of some Fakirs, or pilgrims, on their return from* MECCA

MY brother and I, after having supped this evening with the English President, went on board a barque between 11 o'clock and midnight, for the land-wind that we required generally blows at night, and on the following day between 10 and 11 o'clock in the morning we arrived at BATAVIA. I remained there twenty days, merely to make the King of BANTAM believe that I had not misrepresented the matter, and that during that time I had been looking for what it was impossible to find. As I had nothing to do then, these twenty days appeared very long to me; for at BATAVIA there is scarcely any other amusement but gambling, and all the gain goes in drink; this did not suit me. During the day, on account of the great heat, one cannot even think of taking exercise, this can only be done towards the cool of the evening, and it is moreover necessary to make it very short, because as soon as the sun sets they close the gates, unless the General or Madame or some of the Councillors of INDIA are outside the town

in their gardens. During these twenty days M. CANT, one of the Councillors of INDIA, died, and was buried with great honour. A company of infantry attended and bore a large standard, upon which were the arms of the defunct, although when he first came to INDIA he held the most degraded office in the vessel. A stick, at the end of which there were attached spurs, was borne behind, though, to say the truth, I do not believe he had ever mounted a horse save to go for exercise outside the town. One of the captains carried his sword, another his helmet, and his body was borne by eight military officers. The son-in-law of the defunct followed with the General, after whom walked the gentlemen of the Council; a number of people followed from the fort and town. The four corners of the pall with which the bier was covered were carried by four captains, and all these honours were rendered to him in consideration of the good services which the Company had received from him—as the General and members of the Council proclaimed; but the people used a very different language, and complained bitterly of the great injustice which he had done, both to sailors and soldiers.

Having passed these twenty days at BATAVIA, I resolved to carry back the dagger to the King of BANTAM, without having looked for the diamonds or other stones, for if I had remained years I should not have found any suitable for these *bezels*. My brother accompanied me again, and I took with me some jewels which the King had not yet seen. Having arrived at BANTAM we intended to go first to visit the English President, but, before we had done so, there came to us one of the King's officers, who told us that

he had been instructed that we should be lodged in one of the houses which the King has in the town. These houses are made of bamboos, which are, as I have elsewhere said, hollow canes, and which, though they are as hard as iron, nevertheless split like our osiers, and it is of them that the Indians make nearly everything. We had not spent more than half an hour in this house when the King sent us some *pateches*,[1] which are very sweet water-melons, and are red as scarlet inside. There were also *mangoes*, of which I have elsewhere spoken, and another large fruit called *pompone*,[2] which is also red inside, and the flesh is soft resembling a sponge, and is very good. He who brought these fruits told us that as soon as we had taken our repast we were to go to see the King; this we did, and we found him again in the same place with the old *betel* pounder, who from time to time made him open his mouth and then gave him some with her fingers in the way I have described. There were five or six captains seated round the room, who were looking at some fireworks which the Chinese had brought, such as grenades, fusees, and other things of that kind to run on the water; for the Chinese surpass all the nations of the world in this respect. As soon as I saw the King in a condition to speak to me, I presented to him his dagger in the same condition as he had given it to me, and told him that BATAVIA was not a place where one could obtain precious stones, and when I did find some

[1] More properly *pateca*, a water-melon, *Citrullus vulgaris* (Schrader). The name is from the Arabic *al-battikh*. (See Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, art. "Pateca.")

[2] More properly *pommelo*, *Citrus decumana* (L.), the same as the shaddock of the West Indies. (See Yule-Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, art. "Pommelo.")

they wanted double their value for them. That this commission could not be fulfilled except by some one who went to GOA, and that I could have accomplished it when at GOA, or at GOLCONDA, or, better still, at the diamond mine, where one meets with parcels of stones of all shapes and sizes, which one might cut with but little loss to suit the *bezels*. Upon this the old woman took the dagger and conveyed it into the harem, the King never having spoken to me of it since. I showed him subsequently what jewels I had brought, and I sold a parcel of them as advantageously as on the first journey. As the sun was setting, which is the time when the Muhammadans go to say their prayers, the King told us to return on the following day, and said that he would arrange for our payment being made. On arriving at our lodging we found one of the servants of the English President, who came to invite us to go to have supper with him, and taste some new liquors which had arrived from ENGLAND on the Company's account. For during the twenty days which we had been at BATAVIA two vessels had arrived, which had brought French and Spanish wine, and especially a large quantity of beer. We remained till midnight with the President, who manifested much joy at seeing us again.

On the following day at 10 o'clock A.M., when going to the palace, together with my brother and a Dutch surgeon, who was prescribing for one of the King's wives, we passed along a road where one has the river on one side and on the other a large garden enclosed by a palisade, and there were intervals between each pair of posts. Behind the palisade there was concealed a rascal of a Bantamese who had

MECCA, where there were a number of these *Fakirs* or *Dervishes*. For every year the GREAT MOGUL sends two large vessels there to carry pilgrims, who thus get a free passage. At the time when these vessels are ready to depart the *Fakirs* come from all parts of INDIA in order to embark. The vessels are laden with good articles of trade, which are disposed of at MECCA, and all the profit which is made is given in charity to the poor pilgrims. The principal only is retained, and it serves for another year, and this principal is, at the least, 600,000 rupees.[1] It is considered a small matter when 30 or 40 per cent only is made on these goods, for some yield cent per cent. Added to which all the principal persons of the GREAT MOGUL'S harem, and other private persons, send considerable donations to MECCA. I have mentioned at the end of my account of the seraglio of the GRAND SEIGNEUR the rich and magnificent present which the GREAT MOGUL sent to MECCA in the year 1644, over and above the ordinary presents which he makes annually.

There was one of these *Fakirs* who returned from MECCA in the year 1642, and having landed at SUWALI he forthwith showed signs of diabolical fury. He had no sooner said his prayers than he took his dagger and ran to attack some Dutch sailors, who were on shore discharging goods from four vessels which were in the port. Before they saw him and were able to put themselves on their defence, this maddened *Fakir* wounded seventeen, of whom thirteen died. The *khanjar*[2] which he had was a kind of dagger, the

[1] £67,500.

[2] Canjare in the original (see vol. i, pp. 100 and 308). It is not necessary to reproduce the figure here.

upper part of the blade of which was three fingers wide, and as it is a very dangerous weapon I give the figure of it here. At length the Dutch soldier who was on guard at the entrance to the tent where the Commander and the merchants were, gave this madman a shot from a gun through the body, of which he fell dead. Forthwith all the other *Fakirs* who were in the place, and even the other Muhammadans, carried off the body and interred it, and at the end of fifteen days a handsome tomb had been built (over it). It is broken each year by the English and Dutch sailors when their vessels are in port, because they are then strong; but as soon as they have departed the Muhammadans have it rebuilt and place about it many standards. Some also say their prayers at it.

Returning to the *Fakir* of BANTAM. This rascal was concealed, as I have said, behind the palisades, and as my brother and I and the Dutch surgeon went along, all three, side by side, having come opposite to him, he thrust out his spear, thinking to transfix one of the three in the body. By God's grace he was too quick, and the point passed in front of all three of us. The Dutchman being on my left on the river side, and slightly in advance of my brother and me, the point of the spear cut his high hose and immediately he and I caught hold of the handle, the *Fakir* pulling with all his might to recover his spear. My brother, who was on my right on the palisade side, being young and strong, leaped over it, gave him three sword cuts in the body of which he died on the spot. Immediately a number of Chinese and other idolaters who were close by came to kiss my brother's hands and to

thank him for having slain this enraged *Fakir*. From thence we went to see the King, who had already heard of what my brother had done, and testified his approval by making him a present of a waistband. For the Kings and Governors, although they are Muhammadans, are very well contented at some one's slaying these wicked men, knowing well that they are desperadoes of whom it is well to be rid.

The King paid me for what he had purchased on the preceding day; but he was unwilling that my brother should return with me, because of a great rejoicing which he was going to make, and at which he wished him to be present. It was on account of four large vessels which he had had built and intended to launch. Never had any King of BANTAM built such large ones, and for five or six days there was to be nothing but feasts, dances, and fireworks. Thus I took leave of the King, who presented me with a beautiful embroidered waistband, and we went to take supper and sleep at the Dutch surgeon's house.

On the following day I went to bid farewell to the English President, who kept me for dinner. While waiting for it to be served, he showed me two strings of diamonds which had come to him from ENGLAND, and two services of silver, the whole being worth, perhaps, 25,000 *écus*. He wanted to sell me all, but I only bought one of the strings of diamonds for 2600 *reales*, for the stones on the other string were too foul; and as for the vessels of silver, if money had still been coined at BATAVIA I would have certainly been able to buy them. They coined there formerly, but all contained more than ten per cent of alloy. This was done on account of the Chinese, who preferring silver to gold, as I have

elsewhere remarked,[1] because having no silver mines in their own country,[2] they used to carry into CHINA as much as they could of the silver money which was coined at BATAVIA. These were *reales*, half *reales*, and quarter *reales*, which have no other mark than that of the Company, as is to be seen in the figure which I give here.[3] On one side was a vessel, and on the other a V, an O, and a C, interlaced, these three letters signifying in Dutch *Vor Ost Indien Compagnie*, *i.e.* for the Company of the East Indies.

This lasted for some years; but in the end all the nations of the East, who had trade with the Dutch, commenced to weary of it, especially the people whose sovereigns did not coin silver money; for in fact there are very few who coin after one passes beyond the Empire of the GREAT MOGUL, and it is still bar silver only which comes from JAPAN. As for gold, there are many Kings who coin it, as the King of PEGU, the King of ACHIN, and the King of MACASSAR; and besides their golden money, they have also copper and tin money. The Chinese—who are careful in all things—in selling their goods calculate according to the standard of the silver; for all that they receive in foreign countries, when they have arrived in their own, they reduce to their own standard, and make it into ingots.

The principal part of the profit derived from these *reales* which are coined at BATAVIA, went into the purses of the General, the Councillors, and the Master of the Mint. The "States-General" having had notice of it, considered it very singular that the gentlemen of

[1] See p. 155.

[2] It is probable that there are silver mines in China.

[3] This figure is not reproduced here.

the Company had assumed authority to coin money without having asked permission, and forbade the Company to continue to do so. They condemned them likewise to a large fine, and to make a careful search for all these *reales*, in order to give an equal number of good ones to those who had received the bad ones. On this voyage which I made to BATAVIA, when in the island of CEYLON, I sold some jewels to a lady of POINT DE GALLE, who paid me with these *reales*. When about to depart, an officer of the Company came on board to ask if I had not received some of these *reales*, and added that if I had he would give me good ones, piece for piece, without my losing anything; this he did forthwith.

CHAPTER XXV

Concerning the Dutch war with the Emperor of JAVA[1]

BEFORE leaving the English President, with whom I dined on the day I left BANTAM, he discussed with me the reasons why the General of BATAVIA and his Council had refused me a passage to enable me to return to SURAT or the coast of BENGAL, where they often send vessels. The President, to compensate me for this refusal, kindly offered me a passage to ENGLAND; for the season was then past for returning to INDIA. Being attracted by his offer, I accepted without ceremony; and he told me he would be much gratified at having my company, because he himself intended to go home, the period of his service having expired. But the vessels, whether English or Dutch, could not leave for EUROPE for more than three months; and I thought I should do best to pass that time at BATAVIA, where I should be able to buy something to make my money yield a profit during the voyage. Accordingly, I took leave of the President till the time when the vessels should sail; and he presented me with a large cask of English beer to take with me to BATAVIA, where he said I should find scarcely any, because the General had made it contraband, knowing that it had come to

[1] *Iave* in the original.

the English Company. "But if he only does us this injury," continued the President, "the Company will not trouble itself, and will not be the poorer because its beer remains unsold." It is not really the case that if this prohibition of the Dutch General and his Council had continued it would not have been injurious to the English, for they make a considerable profit on beer, and it yields them a large sum of money annually. I have above said that it is the principal delight of the people of BATAVIA to see new drinks arrive, especially English beer, and that which they call *mom*, which comes from BRUNSWICK. It is thought that they contribute to health; and the majority fear that they will not survive for the remainder of the year if they do not receive these supplies. Accordingly all the people murmured loudly against the General and his Council; and even the publicans risked going to buy the beer from the English, the General closing his eyes, and the wives of the Councillors being very glad to drink it.

As soon as I had landed at BATAVIA one of the guards ran to the entry office to give notice that I had arrived with a cask of beer; which, however, I landed from the barque and placed near the guard. The chief of the office having come to me, said that he could not give permission for the cask to be carried to my lodging; that I must be aware of the order of Council; and that it would be best to reship it on the barque, and send it back to BANTAM. Seeing that there was no favour to be hoped for, and as there are close to the guard-house cannons, in position, for the defence of the port, and an abundance of cannon balls, I took one of these balls and with it stove in one end of the cask. That being done, I cried out to the soldiers

and passers-by:—"*Children, come to empty this cask, and drink the health of the King of France, my sovereign lord, and that of the Prince of Orange*," after which I mentioned the General and the members of the Council. As no one refused to drink, the cask was already half emptied when an officer on the part of the General came to tell me that I might carry my cask of beer to my lodging. Immediately I replaced the end (of the cask) and had it carried away, after which I filled a canteen of six bottles, which I sent as a present to the General, knowing well that it would be the first he had to drink that year, and with the rest I regaled my friends.

I had designed, as I have said, to spend at BATAVIA the three months which remained till the departure of the vessels for Christendom, but the life which is led in that place being one of idleness is tiresome, and not having any other amusement than gambling and drinking, I resolved to employ a part of the time in going to see the King of JAPARA,[1] who is otherwise called the Emperor of JAVA. He it is who was formerly King of all the island, before the King of BANTAM, who was only governor of a province, rebelled against him, the Dutch being maintained in this country by the division of these two powers. For whenever the King of JAPARA wished to besiege BATAVIA, the King of BANTAM immediately aided the Dutch, and when they have been attacked by the King of BANTAM, which has happened many times, the King of

[1] *Japar* in the original. Japara is the name of a province of Java, comprehending Juwana, situated in the country of the proper Javanese. Its area is 672 square miles, and the population amounts to 671 per square mile, it being the most thickly inhabited region of Java. (See Crawfurd, *Dictionary*.)

JAPARA has come to their aid. In the same way, when these two Kings make war upon one another, the Dutch assist whichever of them is the weakest.

The King of JAPARA resides in a town of which he bears the name. It is about 30 leagues distance from BATAVIA, and is only accessible by sea from the coast, but lies nearly 8 leagues inland. From the town you pass down a fine river to the sea, where there is a good port and finer houses than there are in the town. The King would prefer to make his ordinary residence at this place, but thinks he would not be safe there.

On the eve of the day upon which I had intended to start, I went to take leave of one of the Councillors of INDIA, and having mentioned to him that I was going to the King of JAPARA, he was much astonished, because this King and the Dutch were then mortal enemies. He explained the matter to me in this way. The deceased King, he said, father of the King who reigns at present, ever since the Dutch Company had built the fort at BATAVIA in his territories, has never been willing to make peace with it. That during the war the King had taken some Dutchmen prisoners, and the Dutch, on their side, had taken twenty times as many of his subjects, offering to give in exchange ten of his for one of theirs; but he would not give up one, either on that condition, or for money, and on his death-bed he advised his son, who succeeded him, never to give liberty to one of them. This obstinacy troubled the General and all the people of BATAVIA very much, and obliged them to think of some means to bring him to reason. It is the custom that as soon as a Muhammadan King is dead, his successor sends some of the principal nobles of his court to MECCA with presents in

order to make the priests pray for the soul of the deceased, and also to give thanks to God and to MUHAMMAD because the new King has come to the throne without any obstruction, and to pray that he may always be victorious over his enemies. This new King and his Council were in much difficulty as to how they should make this voyage for two reasons, one because the King had only small vessels, and to undertake so long a journey on such vessels was risking much, joined to which the native pilots and sailors are only fit for going along the coasts, sighting from point to point, because they do not understand how to take observations. The other difficulty was that the King of JAPARA could not ignore the fact that the Dutch were always (cruising) about his harbours to capture his subjects if they went outside them. In order, then, to secure that those who went on the pilgrimage should be in safety, he bethought him that it would be best to come to an understanding with the English, believing that the Dutch would not dare to do anything to the pilgrims if they were in English vessels. With this object, an envoy was despatched to BANTAM to the English President and his Council, who promised to give the King one of the largest and best appointed vessels of all those which the Company sent to INDIA. They stipulated as a recompense that on the trade which the English might do in the future in the Kingdom of the King of JAPARA, they should not have to pay more than half the custom dues which they had hitherto paid, and that this privilege should continue to them always. This treaty being made, the English equipped a very fine vessel and placed a larger crew on her and more guns than usual. The King of

JAPARA'S Envoy and two English merchants embarked on the vessel in order to ratify the treaty with the King, who at once signed it, being very well satisfied, on seeing so fine a vessel, and concluded that both in going and coming the voyage would be accomplished in all safety. Nine of the principal persons of his court, and the majority of his relatives, with eighty or a hundred servants, and some other private persons, who were delighted to find so good an opportunity of accomplishing their pilgrimage, embarked with much joy on this large vessel. All this was not done without the Dutch being aware of it, as they had their spies everywhere, like the English. As it was necessary to pass in front of BANTAM in order to get out of the Straits, there being no other route but that, the General of BATAVIA, who had notice of the time of departure, kept three large war-vessels ready, on which M. CHEVRES, a Councillor of INDIA, and the Major were placed in command. They met the English vessel off BANTAM, and as it was about to enter the Straits sent a cannon-shot as a signal to her to bring to; this the English were unwilling to do, on seeing which the Dutch commenced to fire their guns from all three vessels. The English, who well knew that if this continued they would be sent to the bottom, lowered sails and prepared to yield; but all the Javanese nobles, and those who accompanied them, cried out to the English that they were traitors, and that the agreement which had been made was merely to sell them and deliver them over to the mercy of the Dutch. The Javanese at length seeing that no hope of safety was left to them, and that the Dutch commenced to board the vessel, seized their *creases*, or poisoned daggers, and began to run

a muck[1] against the English, of whom they killed a large number before the latter had time to place themselves on the defence. It is possible that not one would have escaped if the Dutch had not speedily come on board, and some of the Javanese nobles, and twenty or thirty of their servants, and the passengers refused to accept quarter. The combat was bloody, and seven or eight Dutchmen succumbed. The English vessel having been taken to BATAVIA, the General treated the crew with much civility, and sent them back with their vessel, and afterwards gave notice to the King of JAPARA that if he consented to make an exchange of the Dutch prisoners, he would give him all kinds of satisfaction. But the King would not listen to it, and replied that if the General had taken three times as many of his subjects he would not give up the Dutch prisoners whom he had in his power. Thus the poor Dutch always remained as slaves, and the Javanese died of poverty at BATAVIA, although, through policy, they were assisted sometimes stealthily, so that the King of JAPARA coming to know of it, through his spies, it might cause him to treat the Dutch prisoners less harshly.

The Javanese are very good soldiers. While BATAVIA was besieged by the King of BANTAM in the year 1659, a Dutch soldier being in ambuscade in a marsh, a Javanese advanced to see what the enemy were doing, not thinking any of them were so close. The Dutchman thrust a pike into his body, and the Javanese feeling himself wounded, instead of with-

[1] *A Mocca* in the original. The French edition of 1713 has it "to cry *Mocca*." (See p. 362, *n.*)

drawing the pike, pushed it into his body up to the hilt, where the Dutchman held it, in order to be able to get near him, and give him two stabs with his dagger in the stomach, of which the Dutchman died.

CHAPTER XXVI

The Author renders the last duties to his brother, who died at BATAVIA, *and has fresh difficulties with the General and his Council*

FINDING myself without hope of being able to go to visit the King of JAPARA, I resolved to embark in a small vessel which belonged to one of the citizens of BATAVIA, and traded along the whole length of the western coast of SUMATRA. It is where the principal part of the trade of this island, which consists of very poor gold and pepper, is carried on. What induced me to go was the opportunity it afforded of disposing of some diamond rings made according to the custom of the country. For although these people have for sole garment only two or three ells of calico, they, nevertheless, always like to have some diamond rings or earrings, and they pay well for them. When at the port, about to embark, a small barque arrived from BANTAM with my brother, who was very ill with a bloody flux, which arose from the debauches he had indulged in with the King of BANTAM. The sight of him in this condition caused me to give up my voyage in order to do what I could for his cure, but all my cares and all the remedies which could be applied availed nothing, and at the end of thirty days God

took him from this world. In order to bury him I was obliged to follow the somewhat strange customs, which the Dutch have invented to cause an expenditure of money by the heirs of a defunct[1] person. The first is to those who go to pray at the interment, for the more prayers one employs the more honourable is the interment. If one engages only one he pays him but 2 *écus*, but if he takes two he must pay 4 *écus* to each; if he takes three, each ought to receive 6; and if he employs twelve, the payment goes on increasing in the same ratio. As I wished that the thing should be done in an honourable manner, and was ignorant of this pleasant custom, I engaged six of these persons, and when it came to paying them I was astonished to find that each one asked for 12 *écus*, and that I had to pay 72 for this single item. As for the pall which is placed on the bier, it has to be hired at the hospital, and it is a right which the poor enjoy who derive profit therefrom. The commonest is of cloth, and the three others of velvet, one without fringe, another with fringe, and a third with fringe and large tassels at the four corners. This causes an expenditure of from 5 to 30 *écus*, and I paid 20 for the one which was placed on my brother's bier. A cask of Spanish wine, which was drunk at the interment, cost me 200 *piastres*.[2] I gave 26 for three hams and some ox tongues, and 22 for some pastry. It is also the custom to send on the following day some money to enable those who have carried the body to

[1] The foregoing lines of this chapter are in the English translation by John Phillips, compressed into the following quaintly expressed sentence:—"While I stay'd at Batavia my brother dy'd; and it was pretty to consider what the Dutch made me pay for his funeral."

[2] £45.

the ground to rejoice, and as there were eight of them I paid them 20 *écus*. It cost 16 for the place in the cemetery where the body was interred—100 *écus* being asked for interment in the church. Thus the whole funeral cost me 1223 *livres*[1] of French money, and after I had paid this sum it made me resolve, for my own part, not to die in a country where it cost so much to be interred. I praised God that notwithstanding the troubles which I had experienced in BATAVIA, and of which I have only as yet told a part, and the small dissipations which one cannot altogether avoid in this country, I have taken such good care of myself that I have never been inconvenienced by the least headache, nor a bloody flux, which is the ailment that carries away many people. That which in my opinion has contributed most to my health is, that I do not think I have ever suffered from sorrow on account of any misfortune which has happened to me. I have sometimes made great profits, and I have sometimes also experienced severe losses; but when in unpleasant circumstances I have never been more than half an hour in deciding what course I should adopt in the future, without thinking more of the past, having always in my mind the thought of Job, that God gives and takes away as it pleases him, and that one should render thanks for all that happens to us, whether it be good or evil.

Seeing that the two voyages which I had proposed to myself to make, one to JAPARA and the other to the coast of SUMATRA, in order to dispose of some jewels which remained in my hands, had been prevented, I at length resolved to sell the jewels at BATAVIA with

[1] £91 : 14 : 6.

the least possible loss, and then seek to invest the money in something which would yield me a profit in HOLLAND. My jewels having been sold, three or four of my friends told me that as I had ready money I could not invest it better than by buying *rekenings* from the Company's servants. These *rekenings*[1] are their accounts of the balance the Company owes them, which are paid when they return to HOLLAND. But as there are many of them who, after their term of service is completed, remain at BATAVIA and become citizens there, or in other places where the Company has settlements, as MALACCA, the island of CEYLON, the coast of COROMANDEL, and other places, each has his account closed with what balance the Company owes him. In order to obtain this money, since they are habituated there, and do not think of ever returning to EUROPE, they sell these statements of account to those who have money and are returning home, and the Company pays them in HOLLAND. Those who buy these accounts get them as cheaply as they can—thus, for 100 *piastres* they generally give but 60 or 70, or at the most 80, being allowed by the notary to sign a declaration that the seller is content, and had received his payment. Whenever these poor people sold their statements of account thus, to reasonable persons, it was a convenience to them; but most frequently they sold them to hotel keepers and publicans, from whom they did not obtain more than 40 or 50 per cent at the most. When the latter had thus purchased up to 2000 or 3000 *écus*, they placed the "statements" in the hands of a notary to resell them

[1] *Requenings* (for rekenings) in the original, meaning statements of account or pay certificates.

to the commanders who were returning to HOLLAND, and who generally gave for them 85 or 90 per cent, contenting themselves with being thus able to conceal what they have taken from the Company, while they have been chiefs of the factories.

The Company freely borrows all the money of those who are willing to lend it, and gives them 25 per cent interest, but the commanders and other officers take care not to lend it the full amount which they have amassed, because they may be asked by what means they have gained so much money, and be obliged to render an account; for some of them, as I have said, on their return to HOLLAND take with them from 400,000 up to 500,000 *livres*.[1] I dealt then with one of these notaries of BATAVIA who had about the value of 11,000 *guilders*[2] of these "statements" at 82 per cent, and on the following day, the transfer having been completed, I paid for them. As I was taking these papers to my lodging I met the *Avocat Fiscal*, who asked me what papers they were which my servant carried. I told him they were "statements" which I had just purchased at a certain price, to which he replied that it was a little too dear, and that he knew of some amounting to 6000 *guilders*, at a cheaper rate; these I obtained with his assistance at 79 per cent. I sought to buy more, but more were not to be found, for a ship's captain who was returning had bought

[1] £30,000 to £37,500. (See p. 417).

[2] *Guldes* in the original. The *florin* or *guilder* of Batavia is given by Kelly as being of the intrinsic value of 1s. 7.77d., and the Dutch coin of the same denomination at 1s. 8.49d. The currency value was about 1s. 8d. and 1s. 9d. respectively in round numbers. Perhaps the true exchange value of the latter was about 1s. 9½d. At 1s. 9d. the 11,000 *guilders* represented a sum of £9625.

for himself alone some to the amount of upwards of 100,000 *guilders*; many other persons had also done so, and the whole amounted in value to more than 400,000 *livres*.

Five or six days afterwards, while I was still seeking for something in which to invest the remainder of my money, I met the *Avocat Fiscal*, who asked me if I had bought many of those *rekenings*. I told him that I had not found any more, and that I had only the two parcels of which he knew, amounting to about 17,500 *guilders*; upon which he told me with a great compliment that he was much distressed for those who had bought them, because the General and his Council had ordered him to make them give back all these *rekenings*, as it had been decided that it was not just that a poor man should lose so much of his wages. I told him that I would willingly give them back into the hands of the parties from whom I had purchased them, provided that I was repaid my money at the same time, and that I would get them over from BANTAM, where I had sent them with my baggage, where I intended to return in a few days in order to go to ENGLAND with the English President, who had civilly offered me a passage. At 6 P.M. one of the General's halberdiers came to tell me that the General wished to speak to me. I immediately went to him and he asked me forthwith wherefore I had not given these *rekenings* to the *Avocat Fiscal* when he had asked for them in the names of himself and his Council. I replied to him coldly that I was unable to give him that which I had not got, and that they were in BANTAM. "*You intend then*," he said, "*to go to* EUROPE?" "*Yes*," I replied, "*and the President of*

the English has done me the honour to give me a passage and the use of his table." I added that it was very true that the long journey which I was about to make in order to reach SURAT, and from thence the diamond mine, where my usual trade was, would cause me much loss, and that if he had so willed it he might have enabled me to save all this time and avoid the dangers inseparable from these long journeys, by allowing me to embark, as I had asked, on one of the vessels which sailed for BENGAL, SURAT, or HORMUZ; that it would have caused no injury to the Company, and that I believed such courtesy was a thing which the General and his Council should not have refused me, since I had only come to BATAVIA in their service. When I had finished speaking all the members of the Council looked at one another, and the General having whispered to M. CARON, told me that as I was resolved to go by sea, their vessels were as good as those of the English, and that I should enjoy equally good treatment, and he offered me a passage by one of them. This offer, which I did not expect, amazed me a little, and I did not at first know whether I ought to accept it or not. But at length I accepted, fearing that by refusing it they might detain me for another year without my having power to leave in any direction, a friend having told me in confidence that the design of the General and his Council was to so manage it, that, whether from BATAVIA or from EUROPE, I should not return to INDIA any more, and that by this means they hoped to prevent the commanders or chiefs of the factories, which they have both in INDIA and PERSIA, from making further use of me to invest for them in diamonds the money of which the Company was de-

frauded.[1] It was this which led me to accept the passage, for which I thanked the General and his Council. Subsequently the General told me to select the particular vessel I preferred to go by, and that when I informed him he would order a cabin to be prepared for my own special convenience, but if I would take his advice I should go on the Vice-Admiral,[2] because of the good company which would be on board, and that I should find old friends whom I had known in PERSIA and in the territories of the GREAT MOGUL. I tendered him my thanks for having placed me in such good company; but after he had made this obliging offer he added that it was absolutely necessary that I should place all the *rekenings* which I had bought, in the hands of the *Avocat Fiscal*, and that without having done so I should not be permitted to leave BATAVIA. He received no further reply from me than that which I had already given, that the *rekenings* were at BANTAM, and that I should have them sent for, provided he returned my money, on which he told me that for what I had disbursed, when I was about to leave, he would give me an order from himself and the Council to be paid in HOLLAND by the Company. Some days passed without the matter being mentioned to me, save that once or twice I met the *Fiscal*, who asked me whether I had not yet obtained the *rekenings* from BANTAM. My last reply was that I had written about them to the English President, who had my box in his house, and that I had asked him to send them to me; but that he

[1] The object of the Dutch was in short to deport Tavernier, whom they regarded as a dangerous interloper.

[2] The second ship of the fleet.

had replied that I must go for them in person, or at the least should send a man with an order in my own hand, and without that he could not send back my box. The truth was that it would have been difficult for him to send them, for the whole were with me, and I wished to see whether the time would not come when I should be asked no more about them. However, all those who had purchased these *rekenings*, merchants as well as captains and other persons who were returning this year, were put in prison, and the Council took from them, by force, all their papers, deposed them from their offices, and they were sent to HOLLAND as common soldiers.

Four or five days before the fleet left, the *Avocat Fiscal* came to tell me that he had the General's command to arrest me if I was still unwilling to place in his hands the *rekenings* which he had already so often asked me for. Having replied that I had nothing to give him, he said, "*be so good then as to follow me*," this I did willingly. He conducted me to a beautiful place on one of the bastions, called "sapphire," where there is a pleasant house devoted to the amusement of the officers, and where the majority of the respectable people of the town came to visit me, and sent me presents of the best wines. On the following day two Councillors came to see me, and told me that they knew not to what to attribute the objection which I had to place in their hands that which they asked for, especially as they, with good grace, offered me an order for payment on the Company in HOLLAND. I replied that it was not with a sufficiently good grace, and that when I saw the order I should make it my business to get back the *rekenings*. Two or three days more

passed, during which the vessels commenced to set sail, this caused these gentlemen, both those of the Council of INDIA and those of the town, to come to see me, to the number of eight or ten. The Major, a very respectable man, was in their company, and he promised me that as soon as I had got the papers and handed them to the members of the Council to calculate the amount, he would so arrange it that the General would give me the order to be paid in HOLLAND on my arrival there. Seeing that the vessels were about to leave and that I could not do otherwise, I told them that they must allow me to go to BANTAM; this they were unwilling to agree to, preferring to send some one on my behalf to bring them. Having given my word, they told me that I might go out on *parole*, and that they were much distressed by what had happened. I replied that they had reason to be distressed, because that having the honour to belong to a great Prince, who was the late M. LE DUC D'ORLEANS, who did me the honour to love me, he would be able to resent fully the injustice which they had done me, and complain of it to the "States." At length, forced by their unjust pressure, and by the necessity of leaving with the fleet, of which I did not wish to lose the opportunity, I gave them my *rekenings*, and from day to day I went to see if they had counted them, so as to give me the order which they had promised. For the Vice-Admiral on which I was to embark remained more than fifteen days after the other vessels, because it was desired to send news by it, to HOLLAND, of what had been accomplished by a fleet which the General had sent to take possession of the PHILIPPINES by capturing them from the Spanish. The bad

weather experienced by these vessels when going there was the reason that three or four were lost; and they were obliged to return without accomplishing anything.

It is the custom, when the vessels are about returning to HOLLAND, that the General entertains all the principal officers of the fleet with the Council and the most important personages of the town, and he did me the honour to send to invite me also. The repast commenced at 2 P.M., and at four tables there were fully sixty persons of both sexes. I was seated between the Major and the Secretary of the Grand Council; they were both men of worth, whose conversation was agreeable. We had been seven or eight hours at table, and they had already asked the General if it pleased him that the comedy should commence, which the youth of the town were to enact; whereupon I reminded the Major that he had promised me that as soon as I had delivered my papers to the Council they would give me an order to be paid on my arrival in HOLLAND. I told him that the Secretary, to whom I had spoken in the morning, had given me reason to hope that I should have it before dinner; but the same Secretary then said in my ear that I need not expect it, and having finished speaking he rose from the table in order to go to the comedy. I then asked our Vice-Admiral and three or four merchants who were returning to HOLLAND to bear in mind what I should say to the General and his reply to me, to serve me as witnesses before the Directors of the Company when we arrived in HOLLAND. In the *entre-acts* of the comedy every one took a glass and drank healths, and the General having a glass in his hand, and addressing our

Vice-Admiral, "it is to your health," said he, "and that of M. TAVERNIER, whom may God vouchsafe to bless and protect on sea during this journey, as he has done in all the others which he has made by land." I replied that I thanked him, and that I sincerely hoped that God would bless our journey, but that I should not make it without displeasure and without resentment for their failure to keep their promise—neither he nor his Council having kept the promise which they had made me to give an order on my handing them my *rekenings*, which amounted to 17,500 *guilders*. That now, when they had the papers which they asked for, they mocked me; but that I assured them I would publish their proceedings throughout the world. The General replied to this that I should not trouble myself, and that I might be cheerful during the voyage, as the order which he had promised me would be in HOLLAND as soon as myself, and that I should have no cause to complain of them. Though but ill satisfied with the General, I took leave of him, and did not await the remainder of the comedy, being anxious, amongst other things, to prepare for my departure.

CHAPTER XXVII

The Author embarks on a Dutch Vessel in order to return to EUROPE

ON the day following, at a very early hour, I took a small Chinese boat to go on board, where, having arrived, I found one of the General's bodyguards, who came to convey to me once more his good wishes for my voyage, and to tell me that Madame la Générale begged me to accept a cask of RHINE wine, and some pots of fruits preserved in vinegar, which she sent me. There were cucumbers, mangos, citrons, and eggs with their shells, which prevent them from becoming salt. I had taken no provisions with me, because some days before our departure the captain of the vessel told me that if I brought any they would not be received on board, he having been forbidden by the General. It is the custom that the General gives 200 *écus* to each captain of a vessel in order to furnish himself with all kinds of stores, and as I embarked by his advice on the Vice-Admiral, he caused double the sum to be given to the captain on my account, in order to have the honour to cause no expenditure to a stranger to whom he had offered a passage. Madame la Générale, when sending this present, bethought herself, possibly, of that which I had done some days previously for her

daughter. Some friends seeing that I had easy access to the principal ladies of BATAVIA, begged me to intercede for a young man, a native of PARIS, who in consequence of dissipation had come out to INDIA as a soldier, and was in danger of the surgeons cutting off his leg, where he had an ulcer. To accomplish it I made a present to the General's daughter, in order that she might ask the Major and the *Avocat Fiscal* not to appear to see this young man when he was leaving.

We were still three days in the roads before setting sail. On the first day the principal merchant of the fort, who kept a record of all the goods which had been embarked, both for HOLLAND and other places, came to the vessel according to custom to examine the bill of lading, and have it read over by the captain of the vessel and the merchants who came with him, whom he made sign it. This bill of lading was placed in the same box where they shut up all the account books and records of all that had passed in the factories of INDIA, both concerning trade and as regards civil and criminal justice, and the covering over all the goods was then sealed.

On the second day the Major with the *Avocat Fiscal* and the chief surgeon also came, according to custom, to examine all those who were in the vessel returning to HOLLAND—the Major in order to see whether there were any soldiers who were going without leave, for every one must have his passport with him; the *Avocat Fiscal* to ascertain if any of the writers were concealed who wished to escape before their term was accomplished. The Chief Surgeon of the fort comes to see that all the sick persons who are being sent home have ailments which are incurable in the country,

because some soldiers may obtain leave from the Major by means of friends, as he did, whom as I have said, I carried off; for the surgeon is obliged by oath not to allow any one to go unless he considers that he cannot be cured but by going to EUROPE. The Major is bound to give the roll of all the soldiers, both of those who are well and those who are ill, to the *Avocat Fiscal*, who makes them come on the vessel one after the other; and it is then that the sick ones are examined by the surgeon. It was perhaps not impossible that he whom I took might have been healed of his illness in the country; but by the favour of the *Fiscal* he was not called with the others, and escaped in that way.

On the third day the principal persons of the town and many ladies came to bid adieu to their friends who were leaving, and brought with them wine and food to entertain them, music accompanying the good cheer, and at 6 P.M. all of them returned home.

On the following day at daybreak we set sail, and were clear of the Straits sooner than we expected, because generally the wind is contrary, and besides we were leaving twenty-four days after all the others, the season for going to sea being nearly over. As soon as we had left the Straits we saw PRINCE'S ISLAND.[1] From thence our direction was to make for the COCOS ISLANDS,[2] and when in the latitude of these islands we

[1] Prince's Island is at the western end of the Straits of Sunda.

[2] There are several groups of islands called Cocos: first, there is one in the Bay of Bengal between the Andamans and the mainland; second, a group of four coral-girt islands, in Lat. 3° N., near Hog (or Sinalu) Island on the W. coast of Sumatra; and third, the Cocos or Keeling Islands, from 700 to 800 miles S.W. of Sumatra, in Lat. 12° 10′ S. and Long. 97° E. It was probably the last which Tavernier refers to. They produce cocoanuts in abundance, and have for many

spent two or three days scouring the sea, expecting to sight them, but were unable to do so, this caused us to direct our course straight for the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

On the forty-fifth day after our departure from BATAVIA (for I do not wish to weary the reader with a journal of our voyage), our Vice-Admiral neglected to order the ship's lantern to be lighted, in the belief that the whole fleet had already arrived at the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. It happened that a vessel of the same fleet called the "MAESTRICHT" also omitted to light its lantern on the same night, and as it was very dark and the sea was high, it came into collison with our vessel, this threw every one on either side into great consternation. Each one set himself to pray to God, believing that one or other of the vessels would be lost. Ours, which was called "LES PROVINCES," was considered to be the largest and the best of the vessels which sailed to INDIA, this was apparent from this collision, it having received so severe a shock. Every one realising the danger we were in, laboured to disengage the other vessel from ours, and good fortune willed that the yards of the "MAESTRICHT," which were entangled in our rigging, broke away, and in order to help matters we cut some of them with an axe. Thus, with great trouble, the "MAESTRICHT" was disengaged, and drifting all along the length of our vessel, when she was passing the prow she broke off the "beak-head."

years been in the possession of an English family, several of whose members reside there, and there are a few Malays there too. A recent account of this group will be found in *A Naturalist's Wanderings*, by A. D. Forbes.

On the fifty-fifth day of our voyage we came in view of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, where we remained at sea five or six days, because the waves being very high we did not venture to enter the roads to cast anchor. This was not because there was much wind then, but because the south wind had blown so long that it had driven the sea on the coast. The sea having calmed down, we cast anchor, and this is what I have been able to observe there.

Of all the races of men I have seen in my travels I have found none so hideous nor so brutal as the *Comouks*,[1] whom I have mentioned in my account of PERSIA, and as the inhabitants of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, whom they call *Cafres* or *Hottentots*. When the latter speak they make the tongue click (*peter*) in the mouth, and although their voice is scarcely articulate they easily understand one another. They have for sole garments the skins of wild beasts which they kill in the forests, and when it becomes cold in the winter in this place, which is in 35° and some minutes of latitude, they turn the fur inside, and when it is warm they turn it outside. But it is only the more well-to-do among them who are thus clothed, the others having only some miserable scrap of cloth to cover their nakedness. Both men and women are of spare habit and small stature, and as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him

[1] *Comouks* in the original, and *Comouchs* in the *Persian Travels*, Book III, chap. xi, where Tavernier describes them as robbers living at the foot of the mountains of *Comanie* (*i.e.* the region between the Caucasus and the north-western shores of the Caspian Sea, bounded on the north by the Terek river). He distinguishes them from another people, the *Kalmouchs* (Kalmucks), who, he says, inhabit the coast of the Caspian between Moscovie and Great Tartary.

sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat. They perform this partial castration because it makes them swifter in running, so they say. It is true that there are some of them who can capture roebucks by running them down. I have had the curiosity to examine many of these *Cafres*, and I found they had all been castrated on the right side. They have no knowledge of gold, silver, nor any kind of money, and have not, so to speak, any religion.

On our arrival in this place after we had cast anchor, four women came on board bringing with them four young ostriches, which were cooked for some of our sick men. Subsequently they brought us numerous turtles and ostrich eggs, and another kind of eggs as large as the eggs of a goose. The birds which lay these eggs are a kind of goose, and have so much fat that it is impossible to eat them, they taste rather of fish than of flesh.[1] These women, observing that our cook threw into a wooden bucket the entrails of two fowls and a goose which were for our supper, took them, and having squeezed them from one end to the other in order to express the contents, of which only half was ejected, they eat them in that condition, being much pleased

[1] These birds were in all probability penguins. (See vol. i, p. 216, *n.*, and p. 399.) They are mentioned by Castanheda as occurring at St. Blaze, 60 leagues to the east of the Cape of Good Hope:—"On the rock also there are great numbers of birds as large as ducks, which do not fly, having no feathers in their wings, and which bray like so many asses." *Note.*—Lichfield calls them *stares*, as large as ducks. Osorius says that the natives called them *solitario*, and that they were as big as geese. (See Kerr's *Voyages and Travels*, vol. ii, pp. 309 and 393.) Sir T. Roe says, "They are a strange fowle, or rather a miscellaneous creature of Beast, Bird, and Fish, but most of Bird. Confuting that definition of man to be *Animal bips implume*, which is nearer to a description of this creature." (*Journal*, Calcutta edition, p. 2.)

also because our captain gave each of them two cups of spirits to drink. Neither men nor women have the slightest shame about exposing their nudity, and they live almost like beasts.

When they see vessels arriving they drive cattle to the shore and bring what they have to barter for tobacco, spirits, and beads of crystal and agate, which are cheap at SURAT, and for some hardware. When they are not content with what is offered them they immediately take to flight, and at the sound of a whistle from their mouths all their animals follow them, and you see no more of them. Some persons on one occasion, seeing them fly, fired musket-shots in order to slay the cattle, but since then, for some years, these *Cafres* have not brought their beasts, and there has been much trouble experienced in inducing them to return. It is a great convenience for the vessels which touch there to obtain supplies, and the Dutch have had good reason for building a fort there. There is now a fine village inhabited by people of all nationalities who live with the Dutch, and all kinds of grains which are brought thither, both from EUROPE and ASIA, on being sown, grow much better than in the places from whence they have been brought. It is a very good country which is, as I have said, at the 35th degree and some minutes of latitude, and it is neither the air nor the heat which makes these *Cafres* so black as they are. Desiring to know the explanation of it, and wherefore they smell so strongly, I inquired from a young girl who was taken as soon as her mother had brought her forth, and was nursed and reared in the fort, being as white as one of our European women. She told me that the reason that

the *Cafres* are so black, is that they rub themselves with an ointment which they make of different simples known to them, and that if they do not rub themselves often, and as soon as they are born, they become dropsical like other blacks of AFRICA, and like the Abyssinians, and the inhabitants of SABA, who have one leg twice the size of the other;[1] few of these people ever living more than forty years. It is true that these *Cafres*, brutal as they are, have nevertheless a special knowledge of simples, and know how to apply them to the maladies for which they are specifics; this the Dutch have very often proved. Be it that the *Cafres* are bitten by a venomous animal, or that an ulcer or other disease appears, by means of these simples, which they know how to select, they accomplish the healing in a short time. Of nineteen sick men who were in our vessel, fifteen were placed in the hands of the *Cafres*, the maladies consisted of ulcers in the legs or arose from wounds received in war, and in less than fifteen days all were perfectly cured. Each sick man had two of these *Cafres* to attend upon him, and as soon as they saw what the condition of the wound or ulcer was, they sought for the drugs, and crushing them between two pebbles applied them to the sore. As for the four others they were not given into their hands, being so permeated with the ailments which accompany venereal disease that they could not be cured at BATAVIA. They all four died between the CAPE and the Island of SAINT HELENA.

In the year 1661 there returned from BATAVIA on a vessel named the "WEST FRISLAND," a young BRETON gentleman, who, after having squandered all

[1] The disease known as elephantiasis.

his money in HOLLAND, entered the Company's service. Having arrived at BATAVIA a multitude of mosquitos bit him on one leg during the night, and an ulcer appeared on which all the surgeons of BATAVIA had expended their skill and remedies; and if the General had not given him permission to go home it would have been necessary to amputate his leg. When the ship arrived at the CAPE, the captain having sent the Breton on shore to give him some ease, these *Cafres* began to examine him, and said that if they were allowed to treat him they would cure him in a short time. The captain placed him in their hands, and in less than fifteen days his leg was rendered as sound as the other which had never had anything the matter with it.

As soon as a vessel has anchored at the CAPE, the commander gives some of the soldiers and sailors permission to go on shore to refresh themselves. Those who during the voyage have been most indisposed go first, each in his turn, and they go to the town, where they are fed for 7 or 8 *sols* a-day, and enjoy good cheer.

It is the custom of the Dutch to send parties from time to time to explore the country, and those who go furthest are best rewarded. A number of soldiers having gone in a party with a sergeant who commanded them, and having advanced far into the country, they made a large fire at midnight, both to protect themselves from lions and for warmth, and they lay round it to rest. Having gone to sleep, a lion seized one of the soldiers by the arm, and immediately the sergeant, firing a shot from his gun, slew the animal. When it was dead its jaws had to be forced open, with great

effort, in order to release the soldier's arm, which was pierced from side to side. It is apparent from this story that it is an error to suppose that lions do not approach a fire.[1] These *Cafres* healed the soldier's arm in twelve days. You see in the fort an abundance of skins of lions and tigers.[2] Among others there is the skin of a horse which these *Cafres* killed. It is white barred with black stripes pricked out like a leopard, and without a tail.[3] At a distance of 2 or 3 leagues from the fort the Dutch found a dead lion which had four porcupine's quills in its body, which had penetrated the flesh three-fourths of their length. It was accordingly concluded that the porcupine had killed the lion. The skin is still kept with the spines sticking in the foot.[4]

At one league's distance from the fort there is a fine village which grows from day to day. When the vessels of the Dutch Company arrive, if any soldier or sailor wishes to remain there he is welcomed. He takes as much land as he can manage,[5] and, as I have above said, all kinds of vegetables and pulse, and even grapes grow readily, and rice also is cultivated. These people have young ostriches, beef, and sea and fresh

[1] I think some African travellers have been of opinion that a fire attracts lions, and that a substantial fence is requisite for the protection of a camp.

[2] By tigers here we must understand leopards, as tigers do not occur in Africa any more than lions do in the eastern and southern parts of India, where Tavernier has so often referred to their presence in previous pages.

[3] Zebra; it should have had a tail.

[4] Numerous cases are recorded of tigers having died in India from this cause, and also of occasionally having been found, when shot, to have porcupine quills sticking in them.

[5] Here we have an early reference to the establishment of the Dutch Boer colony at the Cape.

water fish in abundance. In order to obtain the young ostriches when they wish, as soon as the birds are seven or eight days old they go to the nests, and driving a stake into the ground tie the young birds by one of their feet in the nest, so that they cannot escape, leaving them to be fed by their parents till they are of good size, afterwards they are taken to be sold or eaten.

When the Dutch began to inhabit the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, they took, as I have said, the daughter of one of these *Cafres* as soon as she was born. She is white and beautiful, save that she has a slightly depressed nose, and she serves as interpreter to the Dutch. She had a child by a Frenchman, but the Company would not allow him to marry her. On the contrary, they confiscated 800 *livres* of his wages; this was somewhat severe on him.

There are in this country quantities of lions and tigers, and the Dutch have discovered a contrivance which answers well for killing them. They bind a gun to a stake driven into the ground, and place some meat at the end of the gun, which is bound to a cord attached to the trigger. When the animal comes to take this meat the cord draws the trigger, and the gun discharging the balls lodge in the mouth or body of the animal. The *Cafres* eat a root which resembles our root of *cheriüy*,[1] which they roast, and it serves them as bread. Sometimes they make it into flour, and it tastes like chestnuts. As for flesh, they eat it raw, and fish also in the same condition; and as for the entrails of animals, as I have already said,[2] they merely squeeze them to exclude the digested matter

[1] This was apparently a kind of yam.

[2] See p. 393.

and then eat them. The majority of the women bind these entrails, when dried, round their legs, especially those of wild beasts which their husbands slay in the woods, and they wear them as ornaments. They also eat turtles after they have roasted them for a short time, so that the shells can be removed. They are very skilful in hurling the *assegai*, which is a kind of dart, and those who have not got any, use a stick an inch thick, of a very hard wood, and of the same length as the dart. They make a point on it and hurl it to a considerable distance with their hands. They take these sticks with them to the margin of the sea, and as soon as a fish comes to the surface they do not fail to transfix it.

As for those birds which are like our ducks, their eggs contain no yolk; there are a great number in the country, and in a bay which is 18 miles from the CAPE they are killed with blows of a stick.[1]

. . . . .

During the time while M. VANDIME was General, the Dutch captured a young *Cafre* boy at the CAPE and sent him to BATAVIA. The General took great pains to have him instructed in languages, so that in seven or eight years he learned Dutch and Portuguese in perfection. He then wished to return to his country, and the General not desiring to constrain him to remain, equipped him with linen and clothes, thinking that when he arrived at the CAPE he would live like the Dutchmen, and would aid them in obtaining supplies for their vessels whenever they arrived. But he was no sooner at the CAPE than he threw his garments into the sea and fled with the other blacks, eating

[1] See vol. i. p. 216, *n.*, and p. 393.

raw flesh as before, and since then he has remained with them without having any intercourse with the Dutch.[1]

When these *Cafres* go to hunt in the forest they assemble in large numbers, and have certain terrific cries and shouts, so that the beasts are all frightened by them, and it is then easy to slaughter large numbers of them when thus terrified. I have even been told that these cries frighten the lion.

[1] Some curious examples of this kind of speedy relapse into savagery, after a long course of education from infancy, have occurred among the inhabitants of the Andaman islands.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Dutch fleet arrives at ST. HELENA, *and the Author gives a description of that Island*

AFTER having been twenty-two days at the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, seeing that the wind was very favourable to us, our Vice-Admiral ordered the anchor to be hoisted, and we directed our course for the Island of ST. HELENA. As soon as the sails were set and prayers had been said, all the sailors and soldiers declared they would go to rest and sleep till they got to ST. HELENA. For one steady wind always prevails and bears you, generally in sixteen or eighteen days, to the anchorage at that island. During the whole course the sails were not touched, because the wind was always astern, and the only trouble which the sailors had was that fourteen days after our departure two of them were sent to the mainmast top to watch, in order to sight the island; for as soon as it is sighted the pilots should take good care to be ready to cast anchor on the side facing northwards, and it is necessary to approach the land in order to cast it, otherwise there is no bottom found. If these precautions are not properly taken, and if the anchors do not find bottom, the currents in the air and ocean quickly carry the vessel past the anchorage and there is then no

hope of returning, because the wind is always contrary and never changes.

As soon as two of our anchors were cast into the sea the soldiers and sailors were summoned, and the crew made the vessel as tight as they could. They also fixed stages outside to scrape the hull and grease it; this was accomplished in two days. Then all the persons on board were divided into two parties, and the Vice-Admiral addressed them from the quarter-deck as follows: "Gentlemen, we shall remain here twenty-two days, arrange which of you desire to go first on shore to refresh yourselves and hunt, and let all return here on the eleventh day so that the others may also go (in turn)." Each of the men who went on shore was given a pair of shoes, and they carried large chaldrons, and supplies of rice, biscuit, spirits, and salt. On reaching land they ascended the mountain, but three or four remained below to collect sorrel, which grows to 2 or 3 feet in height and is very good. When they had collected a load of it they went to find the others, who were in pursuit of wild pigs, which abound in the island. When they had killed some they cooked the flesh with the rice and sorrel, which make a fairly good kind of soup, and purges insensibly without one's knowing it. While on shore they did nothing but sing, drink, and eat, and they had to send some of the pigs to the vessel every day. For each pig an *écu* and a pair of shoes were given them, because, on account of the mountain being high and steep, this chase gave the men much trouble. I have elsewhere spoken of the Persian greyhounds which are taken to ST. HELENA for hunting wild pigs, and after having been used they are thrown into the sea,

not being carried farther for the reason I have pointed out in the same place.

While those who are on land occupy themselves with this sport, those who remain in the vessel employ the time in fishing; for there is a great abundance of fish around this island, especially mackerel. Each sailor and soldier is given a measure of salt, with which they salt the fish, and then hang them to dry in the wind. They feed themselves upon this dried fish after leaving the island, and generally have sufficient for thirty or forty days, and each receives only a little oil and rice cooked in water; this saves the Company a quantity of food.

All the pigs, sheep, geese, ducks, and hens which were on board were sent on shore, and as soon as these animals had eaten the sorrel, which purges them as well as it does men, in a few days they became so fat that when we approached HOLLAND it was almost impossible to eat them, especially the geese and ducks, on account of the fat.

There are two places off the coast of ST. HELENA where one can anchor. The best of them is the one where we were, because the bottom is very good for anchorage there, and the (drinking) water which comes from the top of the mountain is the best on the island. In this part of the island there is no level ground, the mountain rising from the very shore. There is but a small place close to the sea, where formerly there was a chapel where a Portuguese priest of the sect of ST. FRANCIS lived for fourteen years; but at present this chapel is half ruined. While this priest lived there he made presents to the vessels which touched there, furnishing them with fish, which he caught and dried,

and they gave him in exchange rice, biscuit, and Spanish wine. After he had dwelt there for the time I have said, and had lived a very austere life, he fell ill, and by good fortune it happened that a Portuguese vessel arrived just then. All that could be was done to relieve him, but he died five days after the vessel had anchored, and was interred by people of his own nationality.

The anchorage is less good at the other roads, but on shore there is a beautiful plain where all that is sown arrives at maturity. The orders of the Dutch Company are at present, that, if a vessel takes cabbages, salad, or other vegetables, seeds must be sown for the benefit of those who may come afterwards. There are an abundance of lemon and some orange trees, which the Portuguese formerly planted. For this nationality has that much good about it, that wherever it goes it seeks to do something for the benefit of whoever visits the same place subsequently. The Dutch act altogether otherwise and seek to destroy all, to the end that those who come afterwards shall find nothing. It is true that it is not the superior officers who act in this way, but the majority of the sailors and soldiers, who say to one another, "We shall not return any more," and in order to obtain the fruit from the tree more quickly, they cut it down to the ground instead of plucking (the fruit itself).

A serious disturbance in the fleet was on the point of breaking out. Although our vessel left BATAVIA the last of all, since she was a good sailer, she was the second to arrive at ST. HELENA. One day the Vice-Admiral, the captain, and other officers of the vessel determined to go in the skiff towards this plain, in

order to obtain some vegetables and lemons. When we arrived there (for I was with the party) we were much surprised to find nothing on the trees, and only some remains of cabbages and radishes on the ground. We did not doubt that the crew of the vessel called the *Encuse*, which had arrived some days before us, had done all this damage, and our Vice-Admiral resolved to go on board to inquire into the matter. When we got there we found quantities of lemons and vegetables in the cabins of the captain and pilot, and all the sailors presented lemons, with which they were well provided, to our men. The captain of the vessel offered a present of some to the Vice-Admiral, which he refused to accept, saying that it was treason to all the fleet, and that all these refreshments must be collected and put together in one place until all the vessels had arrived, so that each poor invalid might have some of them. The sailors and soldiers who had filled their chests with them were very unwilling to consent; but the Vice-Admiral, making use of his authority, said that if they did not bring all the lemons which were still remaining, he would hang a number of them, when the Admiral and the remainder of the fleet, which consisted of eleven vessels, arrived. The captain, fearing this threat, used so much compulsion with his crew that the whole were brought into his cabin and properly shut up until the fleet had arrived, so that each vessel had its share of this small refreshment.

When all the fleet had anchored in the roads of ST. HELENA, there was nothing but feasting and rejoicing, sometimes on one vessel and sometimes on another; and the English fleet, which consisted of nine vessels,

and thus they are always in a miserable condition of poverty.

While the two fleets were in the roads at ST. HELENA the English and the Dutch entertained each other in turns, and there was continual festivity. The day our Vice-Admiral entertained our Admiral and some of the chiefs of the English fleet, it was not on board our vessel, for as soon as he told me of his intention, I advised him to give his feast on land; this he did with greater credit and more freedom than the others had done. I offered him for the purpose my tent, and the carpet and cushions which I had still with me, and had used in my journeys by land; and I further promised to open, on his account, my cask of RHINE wine, which Madame la Générale had presented me with, and even to contribute to the collation half a dozen bottles of MANTUA wine, and a similar quantity of that of SHIRAZ. He was delighted with the offer I made him, and immediately we went on shore to pitch the tent; this gave us some trouble, because we could not find any level spot even of the size of the tent; but our sailors made one near the river, from whence, while eating, we might contemplate the high mountains and the pointed rocks, where we saw the male and female goats leaping from one side to the other.

On the following day, between 9 and 10 A.M., he had the pleasure of seeing all the guests in their boats, some with trumpets and drums, others with violins and other musical instruments; this could not have been if the Vice-Admiral had given his entertainment in the vessel, where all these different classes of people could not have come. As the feast, then, was on land, the majority of the ladies, both English and Dutch, who

were in the fleet also came, without being invited; and so instead of one table three were required, and those who expected to eat in the tent, under shade, were obliged to yield their places out of politeness to the ladies. During the repast there was a great noise of trumpets and other musical instruments, and at each health all the guns of the vessels fired a discharge. The first health which was drunk was that of the King of ENGLAND, after which followed those of the States General, of the Prince of ORANGE, and of the Companies, and then came the healths of the chief officers of the fleet and of some private persons. At the close of the repast, when we were ready to return on board, a disaster happened which somewhat marred the enjoyment of the company. The Admiral's trumpeter having drunk a little more than he ought to have done, mounted on a high rock in order to blow his trumpet, and from time to time he rolled down large stones. Although ordered to stop, because it was seen that some injury might happen, he did not cease, however, finding some amusement in it; and at length he let go a very large one, which, jumping from rock to rock, went through the tent, where it broke a case of wine and killed a small boy born at BATAVIA of Dutch parentage. He was being sent to HOLLAND to learn the language properly, and to be taught to read and write. For these children, though born of parents who have come from HOLLAND, never learn Dutch properly while they remain at BATAVIA, being brought up among servants and slaves, who addict themselves more to the Portuguese language than to Dutch. These children also learn from them a thousand wickednesses, and at the age of nine years they know more lechery than do

youths of twenty years in EUROPE.[1] After having buried the child the company returned on board sooner than they would otherwise have done, and they were distressed that a day which had been so joyful had so sad a termination.

On the two following days we had numerous visits, and there was not a lady who did not come to our vessel; I believe it was less on our own account than to ascertain if we had still any RHINE wine, which they had found to be excellent at our Vice-Admiral's feast.

After our vessel had been twenty days at anchor (for the others which arrived later had less time to refresh themselves) the Admiral fired three cannon shots, and hoisted a large flag on the poop of his vessel, as a signal to all the captains and pilots to come on board, where, having arrived, they held council in order to settle what route should be taken for HOLLAND. The majority maintained that they should go to the west rather than to the south, because the season for navigation was much advanced, and by sailing towards the WEST INDIES we should find the proper winds for HOLLAND. But it happened altogether otherwise; for as soon as we had passed the line we found the winds contrary to what our pilots had expected; this was the reason why we were afterwards obliged to go to the 64th degree in the latitude of ICELAND, and return to HOLLAND from the north.

[1] There is, it is to be feared, some applicability in these remarks to the case of children reared in India at the present time.

the kind; elsewhere in the voyage we felt much greater heat. I am quite ready to admit that if a calm had caught us under the line, instead of the propitious wind which we experienced, we should have felt the heat more than we did.

After some days' sailing we spent three in passing a bank where the sea is full of a plant, the leaf of which resembles the leaves of the olive.[1] This plant has fruits like large white gooseberries, but they contain nothing inside. At length, after many more days' sailing, we sighted the coasts of ICELAND, and afterwards the Island of FERELLE,[2] where the Dutch fleet already awaited us, constantly firing cannon shots to intimate to us its position. As soon as the two fleets sighted one another, each vessel fired all its guns, and took up position by its patron, that of the Admiral by the Admiral, that of the Vice-Admiral by the Vice-Admiral, and so of all the others. We numbered eleven vessels, there came also eleven other vessels to meet us, and after each had recognised its mate, the first thing that was done was to send on board the vessels from INDIA a quantity of supplies, as casks of beer, smoked meat, butter, cheese, good white biscuit, and for every vessel one cask each of Rhine, French, and Spanish wines. As soon as the supplies were on board our vessel, the soldiers and sailors took three or four of the casks of beer, which they placed on end close to the mainmast, breaking them open with a cannon-ball, and they were then free to whoever wished to drink. It was the same with the food, for both drink

[1] This was the *sargossa* weed, *Fucus natans*, which is found in the Pacific. The so-called fruits are the floats.

[2] Faroe islands.

who went to beseige the MANILLAS, from joy at beholding their country again, fixed a quantity of large and small wax tapers about the poop and bow of the vessel, where the wind, when they were lit, could not extinguish them. The same was done in five or six of the vessels; this gave out such an extraordinary light that the whole fleet was alarmed. On our vessel alone, there were more than 1700 of these wax tapers, both large and small. The sailors had kept them since they were at the MANILLAS, from whence they had brought a large quantity, as also from POINT DE GALLE in the Island of CEYLON. For when on shore they pillaged and burnt some convents which were in the country, and as wax is cheap throughout INDIA, and is easily bleached, every religious house always has a large supply of wax tapers on account of the festivals, when numbers are lighted before the grand altar and in all the chapels. Thus the least of the Dutch sailors had thirty or forty of these tapers for his share, and some of them had some as thick as the thigh.

The command was, according to custom, that our vessel, as Vice-Admiral, should go to ZEALAND. We were on the coast seven whole days without being able to enter FLUSHING,[1] on account of the sand which frequently changes its position. As soon as we had cast anchor, more than fifty small boats came about our vessel, but keeping a short distance off, being forbidden to come alongside. Each then began to call out and ask the names of persons in order to carry the news of their arrival to their relatives and friends.

On the day following that on which we anchored off FLUSHING, two of the members of the Company

[1] Flessingue in the original.

known a sailor at MIDDELBURG, who in a debauch broke glass to the value of 250 *livres*, when drinking to the health of his friends. But the publicans do not receive all the money of these people, as the women of pleasure get their share of it too.

The two Directors of the Company, who came on board as soon as the anchor was cast, to give permission to the crew to go on shore, and appoint persons for the protection of the vessel, did me the honour to salute me at once, and I received many expressions of kindness from them. They ordered a collation to be served at the same time, and, drinking to my health, asked me if I had anything to complain of with regard to any of the officers of the vessel. I replied that on the contrary I had every reason to praise them, that they had all treated me with great civility, and that I gave thanks to the Vice-Admiral, to the captain, and to all the merchants of the vessel for the good friendship they had shown me during the voyage. For it should be stated that besides the Vice-Admiral we had a captain under him. The Directors told me that they were much pleased that I was satisfied with the treatment I had received, telling me that if I had any chests I had only to place my mark on them, and that they would take care to have them carried to the Company's House at MIDDELBURG, where I might come to claim them in four days. It required fully this time for them to discharge a part of what was in the vessel, which could not reach MIDDELBURG with a full cargo. I thanked them for their goodwill, and, having placed my mark on my chests, left the vessel and went by land to MIDDELBURG.

It was the year that the Chamber General was

remarked that the more one approaches the north the less one meets with civility and honesty among the inhabitants, and that manners follow the harshness and roughness of the climate.

The very same evening the Directors did me the honour to send one of their officers to invite me to dine with them on the following day. Many persons interested in the Company were at the repast, and I believe that they were there less for the good cheer than to hear me talk, thinking that I might know many things in regard to the private trade which the representatives of the Company engage in, in INDIA. They were not mistaken; and I may say that no one could be better informed than I was of the methods which these agents, who have the management of the factories in PERSIA and INDIA, practise in order to enrich themselves. For they never return to HOLLAND empty-handed, and when they take but 100,000 or 150,000 *florins* they count it a poor thing. I have known many of them who have amassed up to 600,000 and 700,000 *florins;* as, for instance, among others the *Sieur* NICOLAS OBRECHIT, who was chief of the Dutch factories both at ISPAHAN and HORMUZ and other places in PERSIA, during the years from 1635 to 1640. Those who were his friends and had done trade with him estimated that he carried away more than 15,000 *tomans*, which are equal to about 690,000 *livres*,[1] without estimating what he had expended on the gout with which he was afflicted, and the other ailments which oftener arise from relationships with the courtesans of PERSIA, than from the trouble expended in packing silk, weighing it, examining its quality, and

[1] Equal to £51,750.

Chinese and Tonquinese could not obtain silk except through the hands of the Dutch. Whatever it may cost they must have it to clothe themselves with, as they use no other materials for their garments. It was in these two years, 1636 and 1637, that the *Sieur* OBRECHIT filled his purse; for instead of 500 or 600 bales of silk, which is the most they receive from the King of PERSIA, the General of BATAVIA and his Council wrote to him that whatever the price he must send them 2000 loads. I have alluded, in the first volume of my history, to the agreement made between the King of PERSIA and the Dutch Company; and I have also made mention, in connection with this subject, of the small success of the negotiation of the Ambassadors of HOLSTEIN, of which the Secretary of that embassy has without doubt not boasted in the account which he has given to the public. Therefore, for fear of wearying the reader, I shall not repeat it here, and I shall only ask him to remember that the arrival of these Ambassadors, which caused apprehension and jealousy among the Dutch, was the cause that the latter raised the price of silk so much that they removed all desire in other nations to outbid them.

Thus OBRECHIT, having then received an order from BATAVIA for 2000 loads of silk, irrespective of cost, and this quantity being all that PERSIA could supply, as he was shrewd and loved profit beyond all things, he succeeded so well in intriguing with the Armenians and other merchants in PERSIA that he obtained the 2000 loads of silk which had been ordered. It is true that beyond the 500 or 600 loads which the Dutch receive from the King, according to the agreement made between his Majesty and the Company, OBRECHIT was obliged to pay at a high rate for

would not suffice to clothe us. On my return from one of my voyages I went to see him at a village bearing his name, situated one league from the HAGUE. I saw him ill in bed, and suffering from several diseases, and I believe that he often then recalled to mind what I had said to him at ISPAHAN.

I must now return to the Directors and the members of the Company with whom I dined at MIDDELBURG. Most of them desired that I should inform them of the manner in which the agents of the Company behaved in PERSIA and INDIA, and the others asked me to speak of my travels. I preferred to satisfy the latter, and avoided all reference to trade. It is true that if I had not had some suspicion of the deception which they played me subsequently, I would possibly have told them many things from which they might have derived benefit. For in the space of the forty years during which I have often visited PERSIA and INDIA, there have been few persons in the service of the Company who have not told me of all the tricks they made use of in order to acquire money. In return for this confidence, when they were about to return home, I endeavoured to furnish them with a good parcel of diamonds, which occupy but little space. If then I had declared to these gentlemen what I knew of this matter, they would have gained much in studying the record I should have given, and by discovering the knavery of their servants, and by doing rightly by me, their conscience would not be charged as it is, concerning the 17,500 *florins* which General VANDERLIN and his Council seized from me at BATAVIA. That which astonishes me most is, as I have elsewhere remarked, that when the General and

his Council took from me the value of these 17,500 *florins*, they made a hundred promises that I should be paid immediately I set foot in HOLLAND, but this was not done in spite of all the steps I could take for its accomplishment. For when leaving the feast that was given at BATAVIA on the departure of the fleet, I took four witnesses of the fact, namely, our Vice-Admiral and three merchants, to whom, when taking leave of the General and Council, I said aloud in their presence that they would be my witnesses if God permitted us to arrive in HOLLAND or ZEALAND, and would remember that the General and his Council did not give me on my departure that which they had promised, namely, an order which I could show to the Directors of the Company, by which they would see that 17,500 *florins* were due and payable to me on my arrival. The General's response was to take a glass of wine and wish me a pleasant journey, assuring me that the order would arrive in HOLLAND before me. The Directors, to justify their refusal to pay me, told me that the General and his Council had written nothing to them concerning the matter, and that when they received an advice of it they would at once pay it. I was at length obliged to bring an action against them which lasted two years, before I was able to find either at AMSTERDAM or the HAGUE, a notary who would serve a summons, every one fearing them, as they were both judges and parties to the suit. During these two years I often entered their assembly, where they always gave me some hope, but in reality they were laughing at me. I have hardly ever been deceived when looking a man in the face, as I know almost exactly what is in his mind. I remarked that

many of these men had the appearance of loving their own interests and caring little for those of others, and among others there was a young man who represented ENCUSE, who gazed earnestly at me. After having looked at me for some time he asked why I had been at BATAVIA, where strangers have no business. I replied to him that all these gentlemen were sufficiently acquainted with it, and that as he was the only one who did not know, his beard was too young to oblige me to explain to him. As their procedure annoyed me, and I was enraged at seeing myself treated so unjustly, I added in speaking to this young man that he would do better at ENCUSE selling his butter and cheese than where he was. The President interrupted me gently, and told me that I must offend no one, to which I replied that I had seen too much to render an account of my doings in this manner, and that what I did at GOA and BATAVIA was at the request of the Chief of the factory at VENGURLA, and solely for the purpose of rendering a service to the Company. This discourse being finished, the President asked me to go outside for a short time, which I did. Afterwards, having returned, he told me that he still knew nothing about the matter, and that all these gentlemen believed that I would not remain there, but would still make another journey to ASIA, and as I praised the good treatment I had received on their vessels on my return voyage, they again offered me a passage, and would give orders that I should be treated even still better than before; that as soon as I arrived at BATAVIA I should be paid; that they would send an order to that effect to the General and his Council, and that I might embark on the first vessel which left for SURAT or

HORMUZ. I thanked these gentlemen for all their fine offers, and told them that I preferred to make three journeys by land rather than one voyage by sea. In conclusion, at the end of five years the Directors wrote to my brother (for I had then returned to INDIA) that if he was willing to take 10,000 *livres* in satisfaction of my claim, he might come to receive them. This my brother did, and he gave them a receipt in full. I leave the reader to judge of the equity and conscience of these gentry. For either they owed me 17,500 *florins* or they did not. If they did not, why pay me 10,000 *livres?* And if they did owe me, why not pay me fully. I am not the only person to whom they have done injustice of this kind. I know many other more serious cases, the recital of which would not be to their advantage.[1]

Such was my return from INDIA in the year 1649, the only time I returned by sea, having made, as I have said, all my Asiatic journeys by land, both when going and returning, counting as nothing the short passage in the MEDITERRANEAN; and my first journey was wholly by land, from PARIS by GERMANY and HUNGARY to CONSTANTINOPLE, where I also went on the return from my last journey in the year 1669. From CONSTANTINOPLE I went to SMYRNA, where I embarked for LEGHORN, and from LEGHORN I travelled by land to GENOA, from GENOA to TURIN, and from TURIN to PARIS, where I took the King that beautiful parcel of diamonds of which I have spoken in the discourse on

[1] As to the merits of this case, without the other side of the question before us, we cannot venture to decide. But, on the whole, Tavernier got off much easier than did the Dutch subjects, who also bought *reckenings* at the same time, for they not only had to give them up but were imprisoned and sent to Holland as common soldiers (see p. 384).

precious stones.[1] His Majesty had the goodness to give me a very favourable reception, which was a glorious conclusion to my long journeys, in which I have always had for my primary object to spare nothing in order to make known to the great monarchs of ASIA, that there is one grander than them all, in EUROPE, and that our King infinitely surpasses them both in power and glory.

My first thoughts on finding myself in PARIS, on the return from my sixth journey, were to return thanks to God for having preserved me, during the space of forty years, among so many perils which I had run, by sea and land, in regions so far distant.

[1] See p. 126.

THE KING'S LICENCE

LOUIS, by the grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, to our beloved and liege Councillors, the Members of our Courts of Parliament, Masters of the Requests ordinary of our House, Bailiffs, Seneschals, or their Lieutenants, and to all others whom it may concern, greeting: our well beloved Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Esq., Baron of Aubonne, having informed us that he has written a book which has for title, *Six Voyages made in Turkey, Persia, and India, during the space of forty years, and by all the routes that can be taken*, which he desires to print and sell, if it pleases us to grant our letters, necessary to him who humbly seeks them. For these reasons we have permitted and shall permit the Petitioner to have the said Book printed in such volume, margin, or type, as he may be advised, and to sell and dispose of it throughout our Kingdom and the territories subject to us, during the space of fifteen years, to date from the date on which the said impression may be completed; during which time we expressly inhibit all Booksellers and Printers from printing, selling, or disposing of the said Book, and also of reprinting it, except with the consent of the Petitioner or of those who hold the right to do so from him, on pain, to those acting otherwise, of a penalty of three thousand *livres* fine, one-third to us, one-third to the Hotel Dieu of our City of Paris, and the remaining third to the said Petitioner; also of confiscation of the counterfeit copies, and of all expenditure, damages, and interest; on condition of placing two copies of the said Book in our Public Library, one in that of our Chamber in the Palace of the Louvre, and one in that of our beloved and loyal Chevalier and Chancellor of France, the *Sieur* Daligre, before offering it for sale, on pain of nullifying these presents, which will be registered in the proper place; and in placing at the beginning and end of them a statement acknowledging that they are bound by the terms agreed upon, and of their willingness to allow the Petitioner to enjoy them quietly and peaceably.

We command in the first place our Usher or Sergeant, on this

requisition, to undertake for the execution of these presents all necessary deeds and actions without further permission, notwithstanding "*Clameur de Haro*," "*Charte Normande*," and all else to the contrary. For such is our pleasure. Given at Versailles the 7th day of October, in the year of Grace one thousand six hundred and seventy-five, and of our reign the thirty-third. By the King in Council.

DESVIEUX.

Registered on the Book of the Society of Booksellers and Printers of Paris, the 14th November 1675, according to the resolution of Parliament of the 8th April 1653, and that of the King's Privy Council of the 27th February 1665.

(Signed) THIERRY, *Syndic.*

And the said Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Esq., Baron of Aubonne, has ceded and transferred his rights to Gervais Clouzier and Claude Barbin, Merchant Booksellers, in accordance with the agreement made between them.

Printed for the first time the 1st of October 1676.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

1. *The Great Mogul's Diamond and the true History of the Koh-i-nur*

ALTHOUGH the writers on this subject are very numerous, still it is believed that almost every one of them who has contributed to its elucidation has been consulted in the preparation of this account; and it is certain that many, whose writings have also been consulted, are chiefly noteworthy for the amount of confusion which they have unfortunately introduced into it. The principal authorities are enumerated in the note below.[1] It would only prove puzzling to the reader and cloud the main issue were any considerable space

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[1] It will be convenient to classify the principal authorities according to the theories which they have respectively adopted, as follows :—

FIRST, THOSE WHO MAINTAIN THE IDENTITY OF THE KOH-I-NUR WITH BÁBAR'S DIAMOND :—

Erskine, *Life of Bábar*, p. 308; Rev. C. W. King, *Natural History of Precious Stones*, Bohn's Ed., 1870, p. 70; E. W. Streeter, *The Great Diamonds of the World*, p. 116.

SECOND, THOSE WHO MAINTAIN THE IDENTITY OF THE KOH-I-NUR WITH THE GREAT MOGUL'S DIAMOND, AND WHO EITHER TREAT BÁBAR'S DIAMOND AS DISTINCT OR MAKE NO SPECIAL REFERENCE TO IT :—

James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 1834, vol. ii, p. 175; Major-General Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*, 1844, vol. i, p. 361; James Tennant, *Lecture on Gems and Precious Stones*, 1852, p. 84; V. Ball, *Jour. As. Socy. of Bengal*, 1880, vol. l, Pt. ii, p. 31, and *Economic Geology of India*, 1881, p. 19.

THIRD, THOSE WHO MAINTAIN THE IDENTITY OF THE KOH-I-NUR WITH BOTH BÁBAR'S AND THE GREAT MOGUL'S DIAMONDS :—

Official descriptive Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of 1851, Pt. iii, p. 695; Kluge, *Handbuch der Edelsteinkunde*, Leipzig, 1860, p. 240; Professor N. S. Maskelyne, Roy. Inst. of Great Britain, March 1860, and *Edb. Rev.*, 1866, pp. 247-8; Genl. Cunningham, *Arch. Reports*, vol. ii, p. 390; Professor Nicol, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Art. "Diamond."

It would not be difficult to add to the above a score of names of writers who have supported one or other of these theories.

devoted to refuting the errors and correcting the misquotations regarding it, which are so common in works on precious stones. It seems to be a better course to endeavour to secure close attention to the facts of the case, supported by well-verified references, so that the reader may be in a position to pronounce for himself a verdict on definite evidence alone, and accept or reject the conclusions which are here suggested.

In order, so to speak, to clear the way for the discussion, it will be necessary, as a preliminary, to give short accounts of all the large diamonds with which authors have sought to identify the *Koh-i-nur*.

Firstly, there is the diamond of Sultan Bábar, which his son Humáyun received in the year A.D. 1526 from the family of Rájá Bikermajit, when he took possession of Agra. It had already then a recorded history, having been acquired from the Rájá of Málwá by Alá-ud-din in the year 1304.[1] Regarding its traditional history, which extends 5000 years further back, nothing need be said here; though it has afforded sundry imaginative writers a subject for highly characteristic paragraphs.

According to Sultan Bábar the diamond was equal in value to one day's food of all the people in the world. Its estimated weight was about 8 *mishkals*, and as he gives a value of 40 *ratis* to the *mishkal*—it weighed, in other words, *about* 320 *ratis*. Ferishta[2] states that Bábar accepted the diamond in lieu of any other ransom, for the private property of individuals, and that it weighed 8 *mishkals* or 224 *ratis*. Hence 1 *mishkal* = 28 *ratis*, from which we may deduce that the *ratis* Ferishta referred to were to those of Bábar, of which 40 went to the *mishkal*, as 28:40; and this, on the supposition that the smaller *rati* was equal to 1.842 troy grs., gives a value of 2.63 troy grs. for the larger, which closely approximates to the value of the pearl *rati* of Tavernier. If on the other hand we deduce the smaller from the larger (at 2.66 grs. for the pearl rati) we obtain for it a value of 1.86. So far as I am aware, this explanation of Ferishta's figures[3] has not been published before. The value of the *mishkal* in Bábar's time, as being a more tangible weight than the variable *rati*, has been investigated by Prof. Maskelyne,[4] and he concludes that it was equal to about 74 grs. troy, and that if taken at 73.69

[1] See Erskine's *Memoirs of Sultan Bábar*, p. 308.

[2] *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, etc., trans. by J. Briggs, London, 1829, vol. ii, p. 46.

[3] See also Dow, *History of Hindostan*, 1812, vol. ii, p. 105.

[4] *Lecture at the Royal Institution*, March 1860.

grs. troy, and multiplied by 8, it would yield a weight exactly corresponding to that of the *Koh-i-nur* when brought to England, namely 186.06 carats. Accepting the second estimate for the value of the *mishkal*, that of Bábar's *rati* would be 1.842 gr. troy, and the value of his diamond in carats might be expressed by the following equation.

$$\frac{320 \times 1.842}{3.168 \text{ (troy grs. in a carat)}} = 186.06 \text{ carats.}$$

In such a calculation it is well to bear in mind that a very slight variation in the *rati*, as a unit, would, when multiplied, produce a considerable difference in the result. Thus, if 1.86 were put instead of 1.842, the resultant would be enhanced *above* the desired figure, namely the weight of the *Koh-i-nur*.

Here I must leave Bábar's diamond for the present, without expressing any more decided opinion as to the absolute accuracy of the *data* which make its weight appear to be actually identical with that of the *Koh-i-nur*, being, however, as will be seen in the sequel, quite content not to dispute their general correctness, though my deduction therefrom does not accord with Professor Maskelyne's.

In the year 1563 Garcia de Orta, in his famous work on the Simples and Drugs of India,[1] mentioned four large diamonds, one of which he was told had been seen at Bisnager, *i.e.* Vyáyánagar, and was the size of a small hen's egg. The others weighed respectively—

120 *mangelis* = 200 *ratis* = 150 *carats*.[2]
148 „ = 233⅓ „ = 175 „
250 „ = 416⅔ „ = 312½ „

None of these three last can be identified with the Great Mogul's diamond, because, even supposing it had been already discovered at so early a date as 1563, it must then, as will be seen hereafter, have been uncut, and had a weight of 787½ carats, or more than double the weight of the largest of them; but it might have been the one spoken of as being of the size of a small hen's egg, as that was probably its form in its early condition when acquired by Mir Jumlá. As to whether any of the stones mentioned by Garcia could have been the same as Bábar's diamond, it is quite useless to speculate; but, as none of them are said to have belonged to the Mogul, it seems to be most improbable.

In the year 1609, De Boot, in his work on gems, etc., referred to

[1] *Colloquios dos Simples e drogas e cousas medicinaes da India*, p. 159.

[2] He says the *mangeli* = 5 grs., the carat 4 grs., and the *rati* 3 grs. (of wheat).

No attention has hitherto been given by writers to a large diamond which, as pointed out in a footnote,[1] was obtained by a Portuguese who worked the mine at Wajra Karur in Bellary about the beginning of the seventeenth century. It weighed, apparently, 434.7 carats. Nothing of its subsequent history is known; but it cannot have been the one presented by Mir Jumlá to Sháh Jahán. It may, however, have been the Pitt diamond, which, when offered to Pitt in 1701, weighed 426 carats; but if so, it remained uncut for nearly a century, and the generally accepted story of the Pitt diamond is that it was obtained at the mine at Partial.

We may now pass to a brief summary of the facts contained in Tavernier's several independent references to the Great Mogul's diamond—

First, In order of sequence, after describing the Mogul's jewels, he mentions (vol. i, Book II, chap. x, p. 395) its weight as being 319½ *ratis*, or 280 carats, the *rati* being $\frac{7}{8}$th of a carat. When first presented to Sháh Jahán by Mir Jumlá it weighed, he says, *900* ratis or 787½ carats, and had several flaws, but when he saw it it was round, rose cut, very steep at one side, with a notch on the basal margin, and an internal flaw; its water was beautiful.

Secondly, When describing (vol. ii, Book II, chap. xvi, p. 74) the mine of Kollúr (Gani or Coulour) he says that there was found in it the great diamond which weighed 900 carats (?) before cutting, and was presented to Aurangzeb (?) by Mir Jumlá. This account, as already pointed out, contains several mistakes. Tavernier adds that the mine had been opened 100 years previously.

Thirdly (vol. ii, Book II, chap. xviii, p. 97), he states that the Great Mogul's diamond was of perfect water and good form, and weighed 279$\frac{9}{16}$ carats. Its value he estimated as amounting to 11,723,278 *livres*, 14 *sols*, 3 *liards*, or £879,245 : 18 : 1½. If it had weighed 279 carats only it would have been worth 11,676,150 *livres*, and consequently the value of the $\frac{9}{16}$th of a carat, owing to the geometrical method of calculation, amounted to 47,128 *livres*, 14 *sols*, 3 *liards*, or £3534 : 13 : 1½.

Fourthly (vol. ii, Book II, chap. xxii, p. 123), he states that he was permitted to weigh the diamond, and ascertained its weight to be 319½ *ratis*, or 279$\frac{9}{16}$ carats, and adds, "when in the rough it weighed, as I have elsewhere said, 907 *ratis*, or 793$\frac{5}{8}$ carats." Its form was as of an egg cut in two.

[1] See p. 54.

different values, the former being equal to 2.66[1] troy grs., and the latter to about 1.842 (or 1.86?) grs., hence the respective weights, in carats, as already shown, are $186\frac{1}{16}$ and $279\frac{2}{16}$, the difference in weights of the two stones being therefore, apparently, $93\frac{1}{2}$ carats. But in anticipation of the discussion to be found on page 447 as to the reasons which have led to the conclusion that Tavernier used the light Florentine carat, it should be stated here that the weight of the Mogul's diamond, in English carats, was 4 per cent less than Tavernier's figures, in terms of Florentine carats; hence its weight, in order to be compared with other diamonds given in terms of English carats, should be $268\frac{8}{50}$, from which, if we subtract $186\frac{1}{16}$, the difference would be $82\frac{1}{3}$ carats, nearly. The similarity between the weight of Bábar's diamond at 320 *ratis*, and the Mogul's at $319\frac{1}{2}$ *ratis*, is delusive, as in *ratis* of the same denomination the former figure should be given at about 224 *ratis*, which is Ferishta's equivalent for 8 *mishkals*. So that the real difference amounts to $319\frac{1}{2} - 224 = 95\frac{1}{2}$ *ratis*, or, expressed in carats, at $\frac{7}{8}$ths of a carat = 1 *rati*, $83\frac{1}{2}$ carats. This is sufficiently close to the $82\frac{1}{3}$ carats, independently deduced, to justify the conclusion that the weight of Bábar's diamond was about 83 carats less than that of the Mogul's.

There is, I believe, no direct record of the size and weights of the diamonds carried away from Delhi by Nadir Sháh, but before dealing with that portion of the history, it will be convenient to refer here to an interesting statement by Forbes[2] which has been overlooked by most writers on the subject. He states that a Persian nobleman, who possessed a diamond weighing 117 carats, which was subsequently lost at sea, informed him when at Cambay in the year 1781, that there had been two diamonds in the Royal Treasury at Ispahan, one of which, called *Kooi toor* (*Koh-i-nur?*), "The Hill of Lustre," weighed 264 carats, and its value was estimated at £500,000. The other, called *Dorriainoor* (*Dariya-i-nur*), "The Ocean of Lustre," was of a flat surface. Both formed a portion of the treasure, amounting in value to from 70 to 80 millions sterling, which Nadir Sháh carried away from Delhi in 1739.

Forbes suggests that the first was the Mogul's diamond, described by Tavernier, remarking that the difference between the weights 264 and $279\frac{6}{16}$ carats may easily be allowed between the accounts given

[1] On page 448 my reasons for modifying the first conclusion, stated in vol. i, Appendix, as to the value of the pearl *rati* will be explained.

[2] *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 175.

Mogul's or Bábar's diamonds. The diamond of 187½ carats referred to by De Boot has been shown to be mythical. Again, Tavernier did not see any stone of the weight above attributed to Bábar's diamond in the possession of the Great Mogul, Aurangzeb, nor can we suppose that he heard of any such diamond being in the possession of Sháh Jahán, who was then confined in prison, where he retained a number of jewels in his own possession.[1] If either he or Bernier had heard of such a stone he would surely have mentioned it. It is probable, however, that Bábar's diamond was really in Sháh Jahán's possession when Tavernier saw Aurangzeb's jewels, and that the latter obtained possession of it when Sháh Jahán died.[2]

Tavernier's statements, in so far as they relate to this history, are—I. That the Great Mogul's diamond was found in the mine at Kollúr, when, we cannot say, though Murray, Streeter, and other writers have ventured to assign precise dates. II. It was acquired by Mir Jumlá, and presented by him to Sháh Jahán about the year 1656. III. It originally weighed 900 *ratis* or 787½ carats; but having been placed in the hands of Hortensio Borgio, it was so much reduced by grinding, distinctly not by cleavage, that, when seen by Tavernier, he personally ascertained that it only weighed 319½ *ratis* or 279$\frac{9}{16}$ carats. IV. The figure given by Tavernier, though very rudely drawn, is of a stone which must have weighed full 279$\frac{9}{16}$ carats (Florentine), and it corresponds fairly with his description. V. This description mentions a steepness on one side and certain flaws, etc.

In order to identify the Mogul's diamond with Bábar's, certain authorities, notably Professor Maskelyne, have suggested that Tavernier's description did not really apply to the diamond presented by Mir Jumlá to Sháh Jahán; that the stone he describes had therefore not been found at Kollúr; that he was mistaken as to the particular kind of *ratis* which he mentions, and that consequently his equivalent in carats—calculated on the supposition that they were pearl *ratis*—was incorrect; finally, Professor Maskelyne maintains that Tavernier's drawing of the stone differs from his description of it, and was wholly incorrect and exaggerated in size.

Thus, in order to establish this supposed link of the chain, we are invited to whittle down Tavernier's account until it amounts to a bare statement that he saw a large diamond, about which all that he records as to its weight and history is incorrect.

[1] See vol. i, p. 371.

[2] See vol. i, p. 344.

If I were not prepared to maintain that a jeweller of Tavernier's large experience could not possibly have made the mistakes which have thus been suggested, I should feel that I had rendered a very ill service in editing these volumes. It is incredible that having actually handled and weighed the stone, at his leisure, he could have made so great a mistake as to believe that it weighed 279$\frac{1}{16}$, or in round numbers 280 carats (Florentine), while it was really one of only 186 carats (English).

The custom, which has been followed by many authors, of adopting or rejecting Tavernier's statements according as they agree or disagree with their independently conceived hypotheses, is one against which we are bound to protest. It is a kind of treatment which no author should receive. If supposed to be guilty of so many blunders and inaccuracies of statement, the proper course would be to leave all that such an author states severely alone.

Judging from Tavernier's drawing and description, the stone had been ground by Hortensio Borgio to a fairly symmetrical shape as a rose, one side being, however, steeper than the other, which feature, though indicated to some extent in the original drawing, is not generally faithfully reproduced in the copies in various works on [illegible] and some of the glass models which have been made are [illegible] in this respect, but are altogether too small. This [illegible] because these models are sometimes referred to [illegible] as affording authentic evidence of the true form of the [illegible]

We [illegible] at a stage when we can agree with those [illegible] have maintained that Babar's diamond and the [illegible] are not [illegible] but with most, if not all of them, we must [illegible] that the Mogul's diamond no longer [illegible] Babar's diamond that Nadir Shah [illegible] the year 1739. But the Mogul's [illegible] more immediate claim to be regarded [illegible] which was taken from Muhammad [illegible] The name was an eminently [illegible] Mogul's stone as it was when seen [illegible] it in its subsequent [illegible] been so confidently recognised [illegible]

[illegible] was taken by [illegible] rumours of its having been [illegible] Accept-

ance of these stories has been rendered difficult by some authors having attempted to assign names and weights to these pieces, the sum of the latter being greater than the total weight of the Mogul's stone, as it was when seen by Tavernier. Thus the Orloff, the Great Mogul itself, and the *Koh-i-nur* have been spoken of as having formed parts of the same stone.[1] This hypothesis is in opposition to everything connected with the histories of these stones which can be relied on; but as regards the possibility of the *Koh-i-nur* alone having been carved out of the Great Mogul's diamond, it is not argument—but is simply begging the whole question—to assert that the *Koh-i-nur* existed 120 years before Borgio handled the Mogul's diamond. This Mr. Streeter has done,[2] and in his accounts of these diamonds he several times repeats that "all are agreed" that Bábar's diamond and the *Koh-i-nur* are identical, and the Mogul's distinct, which are precisely the points at issue. Indeed he might be reminded that in his own previously published work[3] he states that "any doubt as to the Mogul and *Koh-i-nur* being identical is but rarely entertained"; this, I venture to believe, was the sounder opinion than the one more recently advocated by him.

At the meeting of the British Association in 1851[4] Dr. Beke referred to a diamond found among the jewels of Reeza Kuli Khán at the conquest of Khorassan by Abbas Mirza in 1832. It weighed 130 carats, and showed marks of cutting on the flat or largest face. It was presented to the Sháh, and the jewellers of Teheran asked £16,000 for recutting it. Dr. Beke suggests that it was a part of the *Koh-i-nur*, meaning thereby the Mogul's diamond. This could not have been the case, because, as we have seen, the Mogul's diamond, if identical with the *Koh-i-nur*, had only a margin of about 82½ carats to lose, while if the latter be identical with Bábar's diamond it could have lost nothing. At the subsequent meeting of the Association[5] Professor Tennant improved on this by suggesting that the Russian diamond, *i.e.* the Orloff, formed a part of the same. Another suggestion about the Orloff has already been dealt with on a previous page.

A host of other writers have taken up this story, and lastly, Professor Nicol in his article on the diamond in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* has unfortunately suggested that these three stones formed

[1] Quenstedt, *Klar and Wahr*, Tübingen, p. 79.
[2] *Great Diamonds of the World.*
[3] *Precious Stones*, Ed. p. 126.
[4] See *Athenæum*, July 5, 1851.
[5] *Ibid.* September 25, 1852.

portions of the Mogul's stone seen by Tavernier, which amounts to saying that these three, weighing respectively 193, $186\frac{1}{16}$ and 130 carats,[1] or in all $509\frac{1}{16}$ carats, were portions of one which weighed only between 279 and 280 (Florentine) carats. His statement that "the three united would have nearly the form and size given by Tavernier" is simply incomprehensible.

If, however, we merely suppose that the Mogul's stone, while in the hands of one or other of its necessitous owners, after it was taken to Persia by Nadir, had pieces removed from it by cleavage, which altogether (there were at least three of them) amounted to the difference between its weight and that of the *Koh-i-nur* as it was when brought from India, namely, $279\frac{9}{16}$ Florentine carats = $268\frac{13}{16}$ English carats – $186\frac{1}{16} = 82\frac{1}{2}$ carats, we at once arrive at a simple explanation of the cause of the difference in weight between the stones, and are, moreover, thus enabled to show that Tavernier's account requires no whittling down, though the stone itself, after he saw it, appears to have been subjected to that process.

This would be but an hypothesis based on the rumours above referred to, were it not so strongly corroborated by the appearance presented by the *Koh-i-nur* itself when taken by the British from the Treasury at Lahore. Mr. Tennant[2] describes it as exhibiting, when brought to England, two large cleavage planes, *one of which had not even been polished, and had been distinctly produced by fracture.*

No one can examine the authentic sketches and models of the *Koh-i-nur* without feeling a strong presumption that it must have been mutilated, after cutting, and that it cannot have been left in such an incomplete condition by the jeweller who cut and polished it. In addition to its possessing defects similar to some of those described by Tavernier as having been in the Mogul's diamond, Mr. Tennant records that the *Koh-i-nur* had a flaw near the summit which, being on a line of cleavage parallel to the upper surface, may very possibly have been produced when the upper portion was removed—the weight of which, together with that of two portions removed from the sides, and the loss occasioned by the regrinding of four facets on the upper surface, may very easily have represented the difference in the weights of the two stones, namely $82\frac{1}{2}$ carats.

This too in a measure explains the discrepancies between

[1] Professor Nicol gives the weights as $194\frac{1}{4}$, $186\frac{1}{16}$, and 132, the sum being $512\frac{5}{16}$.

[2] Tennant, *On Gems and Precious Stones*, London 1832, p. 83.

PLATE VI.

THE MOGUL'S DIAMOND
(of Tavernier).

NAMED *Koh-i-nur* BY NÁDIR SHÁH IN 1739.

Figures illustrating its mutilated condition when brought to England in 1850.

Fig 1.

Fig II.

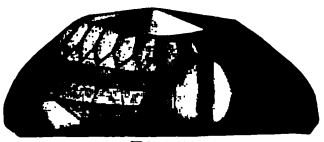

Fig III

FIG. I. The circle is of the same diameter as the Mogul's Diamond, figured by Tavernier (see Book II, chap. xxii, Plate II). The shaded portion represents the basal surface of the *Koh-i-nur*.

FIG. II. The *Koh-i-nur*, showing the surfaces from whence portions had been removed by cleavage. A, Flaw parallel to cleavage plane H; B and C, Notches cut to hold the stone in its setting; D, Flaw parallel to plane G, produced by fracture at E; F, Fracture produced by a blow; G, Unpolished cleavage plane produced by fracture—it was inclined at an angle of 109° 28′ to the basal plane H. From Mr. Tennant's figure.

FIG. III. The opposite aspect of the *Koh-i-nur* from a glass model.

Tavernier's description, which, as Prof. Maskelyne[1] admits, very fairly characterises the *Koh-i-nur* (*i.e.* certain flaws and defects in it, which happened to be in the portion preserved), and the figure, which, as it represents the whole stone, does not, at first sight, seem to resemble the *Koh-i-nur*. The accompanying illustration (Plate VI) and descriptive notes prove not only the possibility of the *Koh-i-nur* having been thus carved out of the Mogul's diamond, but they represent graphically the extreme probability of the truth of that suggestion.

Tavernier's account of the Mogul's diamond has, I think, been fully proved in the preceding pages to be quite inapplicable to Bábar's diamond, while all his facts and the balance of probability favour the view that in the *Koh-i-nur* we are justified in recognising the mutilated Mogul's diamond. Thus, while this theory, which has been built up on the basis of Tavernier's statements, is consistent with the literal acceptance of all of them, and with the physical condition of the *Koh-i-nur* when it came to Europe, of none of the other theories can the same be said; but, on the contrary, to suit their respective exigencies, they require the total rejection of one or more of the carefully recorded observations on the condition of the Mogul's stone when placed in the hands of this experienced jeweller for examination.[2]

The necessary conclusion is that it is not the Mogul's diamond which, through failure of being historically traced, as some authors assert, has disappeared, but it is Bábar's diamond of the history of which we are really left in doubt. The fixing of the weight of Bábar's diamond at a figure identical, or nearly so, with that of the *Koh-i-nur* when brought to England, though used as a link in the chain, has, as I think I have shown, effectively disposed of its claim to be identified with the Mogul's diamond in the first place, and secondly with the *Koh-i-nur*.

It has already been intimated that the *Dariyá-i-nur*, a flat stone, which weighs 186 carats, and is now in the Sháh's treasury,[3] may very possibly be Bábar's diamond, with regard to which I can only say that I have in vain sought for any well authenticated fact which in the slightest degree controverts or even throws doubt upon that suggestion.

[1] *Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, March 1860.

[2] Among other difficulties introduced into the subject are such as follow from misquotation. Thus Kluge says that Tavernier himself described the stone as weighing 319½ *ratis* = 186 carats! For this unfortunate and mischievous error there can be no excuse, as he goes on to say quite correctly that the earlier weight was 793¼ carats. *Handbuch der Edelsteinkunde*, Leipsig, 1860, p. 341.

[3] See Benjamin, *Persia*, p. 74.

2. *Summary History of the Koh-i-nur*

This diamond, as related by Tavernier, was obtained in the mine of Kollúr on the Kistná (see vol. ii, p. 74). The precise date of its discovery is mere matter of conjecture; but about the year 1656 or 1657 it was presented, while still uncut, to Sháh Jahán by Mir Jumlá, who had previously farmed the mines at Kollúr and elsewhere. The stone then weighed 900 *ratis* or 787½ carats (these, if Florentine carats, were equal to about 756 English carats).

In the year 1665 this diamond was seen by Tavernier in Aurangzeb's treasury, and it then weighed, as ascertained by himself, only 319½ *ratis*, or $279\frac{9}{16}$ carats (which, if Florentine carats, equalled $268\frac{19}{50}$ English carats). It had been reduced to this size by the wasteful grinding treatment to which it had been subjected by a Venetian named Hortensio Borgio.

In the year 1739 it was taken from Aurangzeb's feeble descendant, Muhammad Sháh, by Nadir Sháh, when he sacked Delhi and carried away to Persia, it is said, £70,000,000 or £80,000,000 worth of treasure.[1] On first beholding it he is reported to have conferred upon it the title *Koh-i-nur* or Mountain of Light, a most suitable name for the stone described by Tavernier.

On the murder of Nadir Sháh at Kelat, in Khorassan, in 1747, it passed with the throne to his grandson Sháh Rukh, who resided at Meshed, where he was made a prisoner and cruelly tortured by Agá Muhammad (Mir Allum Khán), who in vain sought to obtain the *Koh-i-nur* from him. In the year 1751 Sháh Rukh gave it, as a reward for his assistance, to Ahmad Sháh, the founder of the Duráni dynasty at Kábul, and by him it was bequeathed to his son Táimur, who went to reside at Kábul. From him, in 1793, it passed by descent to his eldest son Sháh Zamán, who, when deposed by his brother Muhammad, and deprived of his eyes, still contrived to keep possession of the diamond in his prison, and two years afterwards it passed into the hands of his third brother Sultan Shujá. According to Elphinstone,[2] it was found secreted, together with some other jewels, in the walls of the cell which Sháh Zamán had occupied. After Shujá's accession to the throne of Kábul, on the dethronement and imprisonment of Muhammad, he was visited at Pesháwar by Elphinstone in 1809, who describes how he saw the diamond in a bracelet worn by

[1] According to the *Imperial Gazetteer* only £32,000,000. See vol. vi, p. 314.

[2] *Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, vol. ii, p. 325 *n*.

Shujá, and he refers to it in a footnote as the diamond figured by Tavernier. Shujá was subsequently dethroned by his eldest brother Muhammad, who had escaped from the prison where he had been confined.

In 1812 the families of Zamán and Shujá went to Lahore, and Ranjit Singh, the ruler of the Punjab, promised the wife of the latter that he would release her husband and confer upon him the kingdom of Kashmir, for which service he expected to receive the *Koh-i-nur*.[1]

When Sháh Shujá reached Lahore, soon afterwards, he was detained there by Ranjit, who wished to secure both his person and the diamond; but the Sháh for a time evaded compliance with his demand for the stone, and refused offers of moderate sums of money for it. At length "the Máhárájá visited the Sháh in person, mutual friendship was declared, an exchange of turbans took place, the diamond was surrendered, and the Sháh received the assignment of a *jaghir* in the Punjab for his maintenance, and a promise of aid in recovering Kábul."[2] This was in 1813: the Sháh then escaped from Lahore to Rájáuri, in the hills, and from thence to Ludiána, after suffering great privations.[3] Here he and his brother Sháh Zamán were well received by the Honourable East India Company, and a liberal pension was assigned by the Government for their maintenance. The above statements, except where other authorities are quoted, are taken from General Sleeman's[4] account, which was founded on a narrative by Sháh Zamán, the blind old king himself, who communicated it to General Smith, he being at the time in command of the troops at Ludiána.

In the year 1839 Sháh Shujá, under Lord Auckland's Government, was set up on the throne of Kábul by a British force, which two years later was annihilated during its retreat.

The testimony of all the writers up to this period, and, it is said, the opinions of the jewellers of Delhi and Kábul also, concur in the view that the diamond which Ranjit thus acquired was the Mogul's, *i.e.* the one described by Tavernier. It seems probable that the mutilation and diminution in weight by about 83 carats, to which, as we have shown, it was subjected (see p. 442), took place while it was

[1] Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, London, 1849, p. 161.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 163. The Sháh's own account (*Autobiography*, chap. xxv) of Ranjit's methods to get possession of the diamond is more favourable to the latter than Captain Murray's. (See his *Rangeet Singh*, p. 96.)

[3] Dr. W. L. M'Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, London, 1847, vol. i, p. 170.

[4] *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, vol. i, p. 473.

in the possession of Sháh Rukh, Sháh Zamán, or Sháh Shujá, whose necessities may have caused one of them to have pieces removed to furnish him with money.

Ranjit during his lifetime often wore the diamond on state occasions, and it is referred to by many English visitors to Lahore, who saw it during this period,[1] and is said to have then been dull and deficient in lustre.

In 1839 Ranjit died, and on his deathbed expressed a wish that the diamond, then valued at one million sterling, should be sent to Juggannath,[2] but this intention was not carried out,[3] and the stone was placed in the jewel chamber till the infant Rájá Dhulip Singh was acknowledged as Ranjit's successor.

When the Punjab was annexed, in the year 1849, the diamond was formally handed to the new Board of Government at one of its earliest meetings—and it was then personally entrusted by his colleagues to the care of John Lawrence, afterwards Lord Lawrence, who, on receiving it, placed the small tin box containing it in his waistcoat pocket, and then forgot all about it till he was called upon to produce it six weeks later, in order that it might be sent to Her Majesty the Queen.

Recalling the circumstances when thus reminded of them, he hurried home and, with his heart in his mouth, asked his bearer whether he had got the box which had been in his pocket some time previously. Careful about trifles, like most Indian servants, the bearer had preserved it, though he thought it only contained a useless piece of glass. This strange vicissitude in the history of the stone is related by Bosworth Smith in his life of Lord Lawrence.[4] He adds that he had been told on good authority that it had passed through other dangers, on the way home, before it was safe in the possession of the Queen.

In 1851 the *Koh-i-nur* was exhibited in the first great Exhibition, and in 1852 the recutting of the stone was entrusted by Her Majesty to Messrs. Garrards, who employed Voorsanger, a diamond cutter from M. Coster's *atelier* at Amsterdam. The actual cutting lasted thirty-eight days, and by it the weight was reduced to $106\frac{1}{16}$ carats. The cost of the cutting amounted to £8000.

[1] Dr. M'Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, London, 1847, vol. i, p. 216.

[2] Lieut.-Colonel Steinbach, *The Punjab*, London, 1846, p. 16.

[3] Miss Eden, *Up the Country*, vol. ii, p. 130, says that the Máhárájá ultimately consented to its not being sent.

[4] *Life of Lord Lawrence*, vol. i, p. 327.

3. *On the Grand Duke of Tuscany's Diamond, otherwise known as the Austrian Yellow or the Florentine; and on the absolute weights of the carat and rati as known to Tavernier*

When writing of the carat (see vol. i, Appendix, p. 416), and when making the several references to the Grand Duke of Tuscany's diamond, I had not seen Dr. Schrauf's original paper[1] on the weighment of the stone, and, having obtained my information of it indirectly, I was misled as to its precise purport, which does not prove that the absolute weight of the stone is less than Tavernier gave it, but demonstrates that the difference in weight is only apparent. The absolute weight is 27.454 grams, which, converted into carats, gives

Florentine (= 197.2 milligrams)	. . .	139½ carats.
Paris (= 205.5 „)	. . .	133⅜ „
Vienna (= 206.13 „)	. . .	133½ „

In English carats (= 205.4 milligrams) the weight would be 133⅔ carats nearly. The conclusions to be drawn, therefore, are, that, in the first place, the stone has not had any additional facets cut upon it, and that it is, in fact, in the same condition as when Tavernier gave its weight at 139½ carats; the difference between that weight and the 139½ Florentine carats is so small, amounting to only $\frac{3}{10}$ths of a carat, that it may be fairly attributed to difference in the accuracy of the methods of weighment employed by Tavernier and Schrauf respectively.

Hence we may fairly conclude that in this instance, at least, the carat used by Tavernier was the "Florentine"; and that being so, it is hardly conceivable that, when mentioning Indian stones on the very same pages as those where he describes the Grand Duke of Tuscany's diamond, he had other carats in view. Consequently, with greater confidence than I could venture to assume when the Appendix of vol. i. was written, I. now suggest the hypothesis that Tavernier's carats were the light Florentine carats, which are exactly 4 per cent lighter than modern English carats. Thus the English carat of .2054 grams less 4 per cent (.0082) = .1972 grams, which is the precise value of the Florentine carat.

[1] *Sits. der K. Akad der Wissen*, Wien, Math.-Nat. Classe. Bd. liv. Abth. i. p. 479, 1866.

The conclusion thus arrived at as to the carat of Tavernier having been the light Florentine, involves a reduction in the value of the *rati*, which has been calculated in the earlier part of this work on the supposition that it was equal to $\frac{7}{8}$ths of the modern French and English carat. It must therefore be reduced by 4 per cent likewise, so that instead of 2.77 troy grs., it must stand at 2.66 troy grs. This value, it should be added, is identical with that derived from Tavernier's own statement, that 6 *melscals* or $181\frac{1}{8}$ *ratis* = 1 French ounce (*i.e.* 482.312 grs. troy), since $482.312 \div 181\frac{1}{8} = 2.66$. I am accordingly compelled to accept this value finally as being that of Tavernier's pearl *rati;* and I must ask readers to accept this conclusion, which was given as an alternative to 2.77, in the Appendix to vol. i,[1] instead of the latter, which was adopted in the text.

In the following table the weights in carats of the principal stones mentioned by Tavernier are enumerated, and in the last column these weights, reduced by 4 per cent, show the equivalent values in English carats.

4. *On the weights of some of the Diamonds, other Precious Stones, and Pearls, mentioned and figured by Tavernier*

Assuming that our argument is well founded as to the carats mentioned in the text having been Florentine carats, it is necessary, in order to reduce them to English carats, to subtract 4 per cent from them, as in the following table:—

DIAMONDS.

	Tavernier's Carats (Florentine).	English Carats.
1*a*. Great Mogul's (uncut)	$787\frac{1}{2}$	756
1*b*. Great Mogul's (cut)	$279\frac{9}{16}$	$268\frac{19}{50}$
2. Golconda	$242\frac{1}{16}$	$232\frac{43}{50}$
3*a*. Ahmadabad (uncut)	$157\frac{1}{4}$	$150\frac{24}{25}$
3*b*. Ahmadabad (cut)	$94\frac{1}{2}$	$90\frac{18}{25}$
4. Grand Duke of Tuscany's ($139\frac{1}{2}$)	$139\frac{1}{5}$	$133\frac{16}{25}$
5. Blue	$112\frac{3}{16}$	$107\frac{7}{10}$
6. Baau	104	$99\frac{21}{25}$
7. Mascarenha	$67\frac{1}{2}$	$64\frac{4}{5}$
8. Kollûr	$63\frac{5}{8}$	$60\frac{21}{25}$

[1] See vol. i. pp. 416, 417, and 418.

RUBIES.

	Tavernier's Carats (Florentine).	English Carats.
1. King of Persia's (192 ratis ?) . .	168	$161\frac{7}{25}$
2. Banian	$50\frac{3}{4}$	$48\frac{18}{25}$
3. Bijapur (Visapour)	$17\frac{1}{2}$	$16\frac{4}{5}$

TOPAZ.

1. Aurangzeb's . .	$157\frac{3}{4}$ should be $158\frac{1}{2}$	$152\frac{4}{25}$

PEARL.

1. American, sold to Sháistá Khán[1] .	55	$52\frac{4}{5}$

[1] Several other pearls of about this size and smaller, were in the Mogul's Treasury. See vol. i, p. 397.

APPENDIX II

List of all the Diamond Mines in India of which there are authentic Records, arranged in Districts

SINCE this list was first published[1] it has been repeatedly checked, and it contains several additions. Although in various works on precious stones, etc., names are given as being those of diamond mines in India which are not to be found here, they are for the most part either synonymes of names that are, or are spurious. Want of space prevents such synonymes being dealt with, which is to be regretted, as the confusion in the nomenclature cannot be easily described without recourse to details. Names of villages, towns, rivers, provinces, etc., are misplaced and jumbled together in almost inextricable confusion. One author gives Pegu as a diamond mine in Southern India; in the Mount Catti of another we trace a reference to the *Ghâts* of Southern India; and in the Malacca of many authors we must recognise, not as they do, either a place supposed to be in Southern India or the true Malacca, but Borneo, which used to be so called by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century. (See Appendix IV.) For some time I was unable to identify a certain Mr. Cullinger, who was quoted by one writer in connection with diamonds. Will it be believed that this *gentleman* ultimately proved on investigation to be the *fort* of Kálinjar?

MADRAS

KADAPA (OR CUDDAPAH) DISTRICT

Chennur on the Pennair River, Lat. 14° 34′; Long. 78° 51′ 30″.

Condapetta (or Kanuparti), opposite Chennur.

Gandikot? mentioned by some authors. Lat. 14° 49′; Long. 78° 20′ 30″.

Goorapur? close to Chennur. Not identified.

Goulagoonta (close to Jamalmadugu), Lat. 14° 51′; Long. 78° 26′.

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[1] See *Economic Geology of India*, chap. i. The Madras lists were founded originally on Dr. King's in *Mem. Geol. Surv. India*, vol. viii.

(Jamalmadugu close to Goulagoonta, which see.)
(Kanuparti or Condapetta, which see.)
Lamdur? Not identified, mentioned by Heyne.
Ovalumpally (or Woblapully), Lat. 14° 34′; Long. 78° 51′ 35″.
Pinchetgapadu? Not identified, mentioned by Heyne.
(Woblapully or Ovalumpally, which see.)

Bellary District[1]

Gunjeegoonta, 2 miles south of Wajra Karur.
Gutidrug? Lat. 15° 7′; Long. 77° 42′.
Hotoor? 6 miles W.S.W. of Wajra Karur.
Wajra Karur, Lat. 15° 2′; Long. 77° 27′.

Karnul (or Kurnool) District

Banganapalle, Lat. 15° 18′; Long. 78° 16′; 37 miles S.E. of Karnul (see A.S. No. 76). Mines.

Bannur, close to Gudipaud; in Nandikotkur *Taluk*.

Baswapur, Lat. 15° 25′; Long. 78° 43′ 30″; in Nallamullay Hills; mines and alluvial washings.

Byanpalle, Lat. 15° 32′; Long. 78° 14′ 15″; 24 miles S.S.E. of Karnul.

Coomroly (close to Gooramankonda, which see); Nandial *Taluk*.

Deomurru, Lat. 15° 49′ 30″; Long. 78° 11′. Left bank of Tunghabhadra.

Devanur, Lat. 15° 44′; Long. 78° 19′. Diamonds found in banks of Kundur river; in Nandikotkur *Taluk*.

Dhone, Lat. 15° 23′ 30″; Long. 77° 56′.

(Gazerpalle close to Baswapur, which see.)

Gooramankonda, Lat. 15° 32′; Long. 78° 14′ 15″; 24 miles S.S.E. of Karnul. Rock workings.

Gudipaud, 2 miles W. of Devanur; in Nandikotkur *Taluk*.

Hassanapur in Doopaud. Not identified.

Jorapur. A diamond of 44 carats found in *débris* of irrigation works, near Karnul.

Kannamadakalu, Lat. 15° 42′; Long. 78° 14′ 30″. Alluvial.

Lanjapoleur, Lat. 15° 45′ 30″; Long. 78° 4′; 7 miles S.S.W. of Karnul; Ramulkota *Taluk*.

Muddavaram, Lat. 78° 9′ 30″; Long. 78° 30′. 7 miles E.S.E. of Ramulkota; Nandial *Taluk*.

Munimadagu, Lat. 15° 15′; Long. 78° 2′ 10″; in Pattikonda *Taluk*, 16 miles W. by S. of Banaganapalle (formerly included in Bellary District).

Muravakonda, Lat. 16° 1′; Long. 78° 19′; on the Kistná. Diamonds found below the ford, according to Ferishta and Newbold.

Oruvakal (or Woraykal of A.S.), Lat. 15° 41′; Long. 78° 14′; 14 miles S.E. of Karnul; Nandial *Taluk*.

Panchalingala, left bank of Tunghabhadra; Ramulkota *Taluk*.

[1] A locality called Nizam in Bellary is mentioned by M. Chaper. See *Engineering*, 1884, 29th February.

Semah, on the Koel (the Soumelpour on the Gouel of Tavernier), Lat. 23° 35′; Long. 84° 21′. This was probably the Sambalaka, in the country of the Mandalai, of Ptolomey.

BANDELKHAND

PANNA

BAGHIN, Bargari, Brijpur, Etwa, Kamariya, Majgoha, Myra, Panna, Sakeriya, Saya-Luchmanpur, Udesna, and many others around Panna town. It is not known when these mines were first discovered. So far as I can ascertain, Tieffenthaler was the earliest European visitor to them who has left any record of them; he appears to have been at Panna in 1765. He says the diamonds found there could not compare either in hardness or fire with those of Orissa (Soumelpour?) or of Raoulcound (*i.e.* Ramulkota). There is no record of any exceptionally large diamonds having been found at Panna. Though it is believed by some that the mines are of very great antiquity, the history of them is defective. However, the *Ain-i-Akbari*, by Abdul Fazl (1590),[1] refers to diamonds having been found at 20 *coss* distance from the fort of Kálinjar, and that Raja Keerut Singh, a former Governor of that fort, had six valuable stones. It seems probable that these mines were worked in Tavernier's time, though he was not aware of the fact.

NORTH-WEST PROVINCES

SIMLA? This is a very doubtful locality, but there are several diamonds in the Calcutta Museum which were said to have been found in a stream near Simla.

NOTE ON THE GOLCONDA AND BIJAPUR DIAMOND MINES

There is a very important early description of the diamond mines of these regions, which is of special interest, as it gives a clue to the original source of many names of diamond sites which are to be found in the modern literature of the subject. It was published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xii, 1677, p. 907, having been *presented* to the Royal Society by the Earl Marshal of England, who was then Henry Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk. His term of office as Earl Marshal lasted from 1672-1683. I am inclined to think it may have been written by Mr. Cholmley, who is described by Mr. Streynsham Master[2] as having been engaged for several years

[1] Gladwin's Ed., vol. i, p. 29.

[2] *Kistná Manual*, p. 147.

before 1679 in making the annual purchases of diamonds for the Company, especially at the mines of Gollapalle (or Golapilly) and Malavalle (Muléli or Mullavilly).

The diamond mines of the Kistná District belonged to the Kings of Golconda, Kutab Sháh dynasty, from the downfall of the Báhmani Kings of Deccan (*circa* 1500) until their defeat and extinction in 1686. The mines in the Karnul District also belonged to them after the Rájás of Vijáyanagar were driven to the south in 1564. (See *Kistná Manual*, p. 244.)

It is curious to note that while Tavernier only mentions three localities in these regions by name, namely, Ramulkota (his Raolconda), Kollúr (his Coulour), and Gandikot, together with another unnamed locality (which was Gazerpalle, see p. 476), this paper, published only a year after Tavernier's first edition appeared, enumerates 23 mines in the Kingdom of Golconda, and 15 in the Kingdom of Bijapur—in all 38.

As will be seen, some of these names correspond with names in the preceding list, others seem to be identical with names of villages in the region, about which there is no independent evidence of their having been diamond producing. The remaining names I have failed to identify. As I hope on some future occasion to republish this paper of the Earl Marshal's, *in extenso*, with annotations, I shall at present limit myself to a brief enumeration of the localities, their proper modern names being given in brackets.

The Golconda Mines are—1. *Quolure;* this is Tavernier's Coulour or Gani [KOLLÚR]. This is said to have been the first mine worked in Golconda, but was then, 1677, almost exhausted. 2. *Codawillicul* [KODAVATAKULLU], 3. *Malabar* [MALAWARAM], 4. *Buttephalem* [BARTHENYPADU, near PARTIAL], 5. *Ramiah* [?], 6. *Gurem* [?], 7. *Muttampellee* [near *Kurur*?]. These five (? six) were under the same government as that of *Melwillee* [MALAVALLE or MULÉLI], see below. 8. *Currure* [WAJRA- or VAJRA-KARUR, in the Guty *Taluk* of the Bellary District]. This identification is confirmed by the statement that it, the most famous and most ancient of all the mines, was taken some years previously, with the Carnatic, by Mir Jumlá from the Hindu Rájás. It is said that diamonds up to "a *seize* (? seer) weight, which was equal to about 9 ounces troy, or 81½ *pagodas*, had been found there; the mine was privately worked by the King, and the stones produced from it were large and well spread," etc. I have elsewhere quoted, see vol. ii, p. 54, the account of this mine having been worked by a Portuguese gentleman. 9. *Ganjee-*

conta [GUNJEEGONTA], 10. *Lattawar*[1] [LATTWARA]. These two last are respectively 1 and 10 miles S.W. of WAJRA-KARUR. 11. *Jonagerre* [?], 12. *Pirai* [?], 13. *Dugulle* [?], 14. *Purwillee* [?]. These four last I cannot identify. 15. *Anuntapellee* [ANANTAPUR? is 20 miles from WAJRA-KARUR. Dr. King (*Mem. Geol. Surv. India*, vol. viii, p. 101) alludes to a diamond being found there]. 16. *Girregeta* [GOULAGOONTA], 17. *Maarmood* [?], 18. *Wazzergerre* [WAJIRABAD?]. 19. *Munnemurg* [MUNIMADAGU in Karnul]. The two last are said to have been the deepest mines; they were carried to depths of 40 to 50 fathoms. Some interesting details are given as to the process of mining. 20. *Langumboot* [?]; process of mining as in the preceding. 21. *Whootoor* [HOTOOR?] near KARUR. 22. *Muddemurg* [MADAGULA? in centre of Palnad *Taluk*, Kistná District. This identification is founded on the statement that the locality was about 9 miles from the Kistná river]. 23. *Melwillee*, or new mine [MALAVALLE or MULÉLI], worked first from 1670-71, then closed, but reopened in 1673 by the King's licence, owing to the Kollúr mine becoming exhausted.

In BIJAPUR there were 15 mines, of which only those yielding the smallest stones were allowed by the King to be worked, partly to prevent large stones becoming too common, and partly to avoid exciting Aurangzeb's cupidity. The mines were—1. *Ramulconeta* [RAMULKOTA, *i.e.* Tavernier's Raolconda]; diamonds of a *mangelin* weight were seldom found there, generally they were much smaller. Broken diamonds, called *shemboes*, were found there. 2. *Banugunnapellee* [BANAGANAPALLE, 37 miles S.E. of Karnul], 3. *Pendekull* [PENDEKALLU], 4. *Moodawaram* [? MUDDAVARAM, 7 miles E.S.E. of Ramulkota], 5. *Cumerwille* [COOMROLY of A.S. close to GOORAMANKONDA], 6. *Paulkull* [?], 7. *Workull* [? ORUVAKAL], 8. *Lungeepoleur* [LANGAPOLEUR, 5 miles S. of Karnul], 9. *Pootloor* [POLUR], 10. *Punchelingull* [PANCHALINGALA, left bank of Tunghabhadra], 11. *Shingarrampent* [?], 12. *Tondarpaar* [TANDRAPAD, left bank of Tunghabhadra], 13. *Gundepelle* [?], 14. *Donee* [DHONE], 15. *Gazerpellee* [this is close to BASWAPUR].

I would venture to commend the identification of those mines which are unplaced in the above list to some one with local knowledge.

We are told in the Earl Marshal's paper that in Golconda the

[1] This, as also some of the other localities, are given by Dutens and Castellani as being in Asia!—a rather wide geographical expression; they have long been objects of search to me, till traced by means of this paper.

miners and merchants were much oppressed, and in a miserable state of poverty, from having to submit to tyrannical squeezing and heavy duties on provisions, tobacco, and *betel*. With extraordinary inconsistency, although the King of Golconda, Abdul Kutab Sháh, and the King of Bijapur, Adil Sháh, had agreements with the miners that all diamonds above a certain weight were to be reserved for them, still they would not only pay highly for large stones conveyed to their capitals secretly by the merchants, but would bestow dresses of honour upon the merchants who brought such stones to them for sale.

APPENDIX III

The Diamond Mines of Bengal

ALTHOUGH it is possible that many persons in India may be surprised at the statement that there were formerly diamond mines of considerable importance and value in the region of Bengal, which is about to be described; and although it is probably the case that many who have resided for long periods in the very District itself have never heard of the fact, all local traces of the industry being now extinct, still the cumulative evidence which can be brought forward is such that I do not anticipate that any serious objections can be urged to the natural conclusions derivable from that evidence.

Gibbon, in the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, for some reason which he does not give, arrived at the conclusion that it was the mines described by Tavernier at Soumelpour[1] on the Gouel (*i.e.* Semah or Semulpur on the Koel, in the Sub-Division of Palámau), rather than any of the localities in Southern India, which supplied Rome with diamonds.

Ptolomey mentions Sambalaka[2] as a city in the country of the Mandalai which produced the finest diamonds in the world. Now, although it is possible that he may have referred to Sambalpur on the Mahánadi, where diamonds are known to occur, I prefer to identify it with Tavernier's Soumelpour, as above, because it was situated in the country generally recognised as that of the Mandali or Mundas, while Sambalpur is beyond its limits.

Further, it may be conveniently remarked here that Ptolomey's Adamas river, although he clearly indicates its origin in Chutiá Nágpur (Kokkonage or Kokrah), has by some authors been identified with the Mahánadi, while others have with greater probability

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[1] By a misprint given as Jumelpur, in Bengal, *Decline and Fall*, vol. ii, p. 281, *note*.

[2] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xiii, 1884, p. 364, where it is identified with Sambalpur.

identified it with one or other of the rivers rising in Chutiá Nágpur, namely, the Dámuda, Subanrikhá or Bráhmani, with its tributaries the Sank and Southern Koel, to which we shall presently again refer. The Mahánadi is probably Ptolomey's Manada, rising in the country of the Sabaræ or Savaras, where diamonds were also obtained.

Our next reference to this locality is a very definite and explicit one; it is separated by a long period of time from Ptolomey. In Prof. Blochman's translation[1] of the *Tuzuk-i-Jahángiri*, we find that "On the 3d Isfandiármuz of the 10th year of my reign (A.D. 1616) it was reported to me (Jahángir) that Ibráhim Khán (governor of Bihár) had overrun Kokrah and taken possession of its diamond washings. This District belongs to *Subah* Bihár, and the river which flows through it yields the diamonds." Then follow accounts of the mines and Ibráhim Khán's operations, all of which will be found quoted in the *Economic Geology of India*, p. 25. The account goes on to say, "The District is now subject to me. All diamonds found in the river are forwarded to court. Only a few days ago a diamond arrived which had a value of Rs.50,000, and I hope many more will be added to my store of jewels." Among those received from Ibráhim Khán was one which was coloured like a sapphire, it weighed several *ratis*, and the lapidaries valued it at Rs.3000, though they would have given 20,000 had it been white and stood the test. Prof. Blochman gives a quotation from a MS. history of the Maháráj as of Chutiá Nágpur, in which a method of testing diamonds for flaws is described as consisting in fixing them on the horns of fighting rams.

General Dalton recorded that the family of the Rájá of Chutiá Nágpur possessed a diamond from these mines valued at Rs.40,000.[2] A large picture, representing the attack on the Palámau fort in 1660 by Dáud Khán, contains a figure of the *Zamindár-i-kán-i-álmás* or Lord of the Diamond Mine. General Dalton was, I believe, rather inclined to think these mines somewhat mythical, while Prof. Blochman[3] identified the river with the Sank. As I had conversations with both of them on the subject, I am satisfied that neither of them knew of Tavernier's references to this region, nor did I know of them then, and it was not till some time after I became aware of them, that I was able to show that his Soumelpour was quite a

[1] *Jour. As. Socy. Bengal*, vol. xl, p. 113.
[2] *Ethnology of Bengal*, 163, *n.*
[3] *Jour. As. Socy. Bengal*, vol. xliii, pt. i, p. 240.

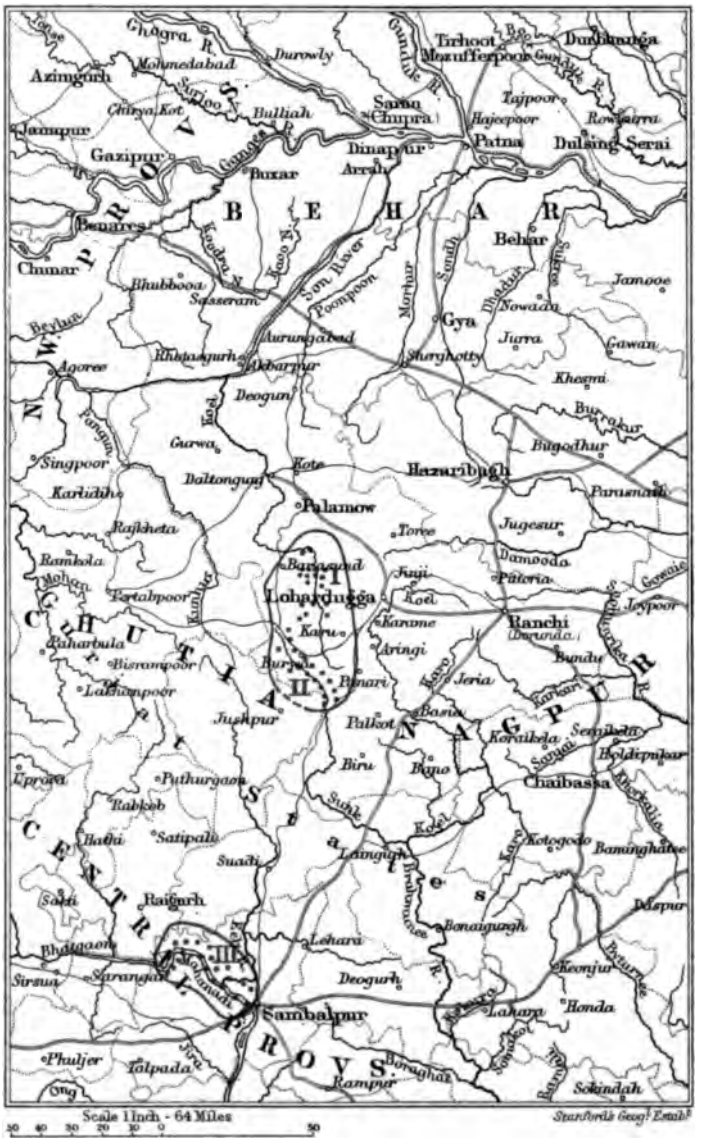
A MAP SHEWING THE POSITION OF THE DIAMOND RIVERS OF BENGAL

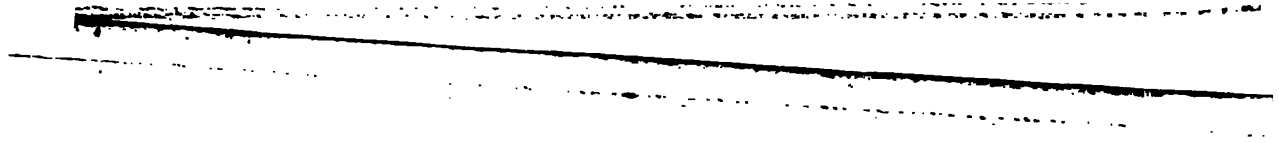
I *Soumelpour on the Gouel i.e. Semah on the Koel in the Palamow Subdivision.*

II *An intermediate locality on the Sunk river in Burwa, Palkot & Jushpur*

III *Position of the washings on the Mahanadi near Sambalpur in the Central Provinces.*

:::: *Diamond rivers*





different locality from Sambalpur on the Mahánadi, with which most writers had identified it.

In addition to Tavernier's own direct account of this locality, there is another somewhat earlier in date, but which there is reason to believe was derived from information obtained from him. Reference will be found in Appendix VI to a work by Chappuzeau. In it there appears to be reference to the locality in Bengal which produced diamonds under the name Nage (*i.e.* Kokkonage or Chutiá Nágpur). In the year 1657 L'Escot of Orleans (see p. 304) went there to purchase a diamond of 42 carats, but he failed to get it.

Although Tavernier's locality was on the Gouel River, *i.e.* the Koel, which runs northwards to join the Sone, and so reaches the Ganges—the Sank and another Koel also take their rise close by, and running southwards they form the Bráhmani, which joins the delta of the Mahánadi, near the coast of the Bay of Bengal. The Ebe River, a tributary of the Mahánadi also, rises in the same neighbourhood, and it is locally called the *Hira* or diamond river, and its bed is said to have yielded diamonds. Hence it is a natural deduction that the source of the diamonds found in the beds of these rivers, which pursue such different courses, is common to all, and that the diamond-bearing rocks will be found there. Unfortunately before leaving India I had no opportunity of putting this theory to the test, and I am not aware that the area has been as yet fully explored.

The accompanying map will convey a clear idea of the relative positions of the three localities, which have hitherto been much confused in the accounts by different authors. In the south there is Sambalpur, on the Mahánadi, of which I have elsewhere[1] published detailed accounts of the geology, and of the records of the yield of diamonds there in former times; farther north is the locality on the Sank river, which, as stated above, is one of the tributaries of the Bráhmani; and lastly, on the other side of the watershed, is the site of the locality, Semah on the Koel, a tributary of the Sone, which I identify with the Soumelpour of Tavernier.

As Sambalpur is in the Central Provinces, and is therefore beyond the region of the present discussion, not being included in Bengal, we may now pass to the mention of the other two localities, as they are referred to by various authorities since Tavernier's time.

Sumelpur (*Mine de diamans*), near a tributary of the Solon (*i.e.*

[1] *Economic Geology of India*, p. 30.

Sone, called in its upper portion Riverere d'Andi, see *ante*, vol. i, p. 55), is represented on the Carte de l'Indoustan by M. Bellin, which was published in 1752 in the *Histoire Genérale des Voyages.*

Tieffenthaler,[1] somewhere about the year 1766, wrote of Sommelpour as a place producing an abundance of diamonds of good quality in the river Gouel, 30 *milles* S.E. from Rohtas. He did not visit it himself, and perhaps he quoted from Tavernier.

Pennant,[2] in the year 1798, mentions that a diamond mine was then being worked on the Sank river, but he does not name his authority. He also states that Soumelpour on the Gouel was the most noted and most ancient locality for diamonds.[3] Here he evidently quotes from Tavernier, as also did Buffon,[4] who calls the locality Soonelpour on the Gouil, which Buchanan Hamilton in 1838[5] refers to as being probably identical with a diamond mine which he had heard of on the southern Koel. Karl Ritter in 1836 detected the incompatibility of Tavernier's statements as to the position of his Soumelpour with that of Sambalpur on the Mahánadi; but his correc tion did not serve to mitigate the confusion which is to be found even in the most recent authors upon the subject. I may add that I was pointed out on the map a locality on the Sank by a resident in Chutiá Nágpur, where local tradition asserts that diamonds used to be found.

Having referred above to Sambalpur in the Central Provinces, it may be of interest to add that this Indian Province includes another locality which, though of importance in early times, was so forgotten even a century ago, that Rennell, and after him Karl Ritter, altogether failed to identify it. It was mentioned as being in the country conquered by Ahmed Sháh Walli Bhamini, both by Garcia de Orta and Ferishtá. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* the locality is spoken of as at Beiragurh which is now identified with Wairágarh in the Chanda District, about 80 miles from Nágpur. It was probably the Kossala of the Chinese pilgrims and perhaps the Kossa of Ptolomey.

It is just possible that a locality mentioned by Nicol Conti in the fifteenth century as a diamond mine called Albenigaras, may have also been Wairágarh. He mentions that the diamonds were obtained then by means of pieces of meat, which were flung on to the mountain, where the diamonds could not be collected owing to the number of serpents. The pieces of meat with diamonds sticking to them were

[1] Bernoulli, *Descr. de l'Inde*, Berlin, 1791, vol. i, p. 433.
[2] *View of Hindoostan*, vol. ii, p. 140. [3] *Id.* p. 113.
[4] *Hist. Nat., Mineraux*, Paris, 1786, vol. iv, p. 280.
[5] Montgomery Martin, *Eastern India*, vol. i, p. 535.

then carried to their nests by birds of prey, from whence they were recovered by the diamond seekers. This, with variations, is the story told by Marco Polo, and in the travels of Sindbad the Sailor. Elsewhere I have described the probable origin of this myth. It appears to be founded on the very common practice in India on the opening of a mine, to offer up cattle to propitiate the evil spirits who are supposed to guard treasures—these being represented by the serpents in the myth. At such sacrifices in India, birds of prey invariably assemble to pick up what they can, and in that fact we probably have the remainder of the foundation of the story.

It is probable, also, that the story by Pliny and other early writers of the diamond being softened by the blood of a he-goat, had its origin in such sacrifices.

As to whether these or other diamond mines in India could be profitably worked again I cannot now discuss here; but I may say that I do not believe that they can be truly described as being exhausted.

APPENDIX IV

The Diamond Mines of Borneo

In the Colloquies of Garcia de Orta, in the Travels of Linschoten, in the works of De Boot[1] and De Laet,[2] and in many treatises on precious stones, up to some of those most recently published, we find, as has already been stated in the note on p. 87, that Malacca is mentioned as a locality where diamonds occur. This was for a long time a sore puzzle to me, especially as among modern writers on Malacca, with the exception of Miss Bird,[3] none claimed that Malacca was known to be a diamond producing country, while some local inquiries which I made through the late Mr. W. Wynne of the Straits Civil Service confirmed an opinion, founded on the character of the geological structure, that probably none had ever been found there.

The solution of the difficulty is afforded by the fact that the name Malacca was applied by the early Portuguese writers to Borneo, and that the Taniapura which they mention was Tanjongpura in Borneo.

I am indebted to Mr. D. F. A. Hervey for the information that Tanjong pûra (the Tandjong Poera of the Dutch) is situated about 30 miles up the river Pawán in the northern part of the Mátan District, adjoining Sukadana. The name, he states, is a hybrid, Tanjong being the Malay for a point (of land), and pura a Malayan version of the Sanskrit pûr, a town.

Such is the true explanation, and not that Malacca was a place situated in the Eastern Ghâts! as stated by Castellani; nor that the

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[1] *De Lapidi. et Gemm.*, 3d ed., by De Laet, Lug. Bat. 1647, p. 121. When enumerating the localities where the diamond is obtained, he says, "Alia est rupes ad fretum Tanian in Malacca que etiam profert adamantes qui de rupe veteri vocantur." De Boot's original work was published in 1609.

[2] *De Gemm. et Lapidi.*, Lug. Bat. 1647, p. 2, "Juxta fretum Taniapuræ haud longe ab Emporio celeberrimo Malacca alia earumdem gemmarum fodina est unde vulgo Malacenses appellantur."

[3] *The Golden Chersonese*, p. 261.

idea originated in some jumble about malachite, as has I think been suggested by one writer.

As it was with Pliny, so it has been with a host of other compilers; we find in the literature of precious stones the same places or the same objects called by different names, and treated as though they were distinct. It has been shown on p. 72 that *Gani* was a prefix signifying "mine of" to the name Kollúr, a diamond locality on the Kistná, though it is commonly treated as though it were a name itself; and when we find Malacca mentioned side by side with Borneo, as a diamond-producing region, we should not suspect that its appearance in the lists is simply due to a survival of an old name for Borneo. It is perhaps needless to add, therefore, that it should be expunged from all future lists.

The following facts with regard to the occurrence of the diamond in Borneo are chiefly extracted from Crawfurd's *Dictionary* and a paper by Dr. Posewitz.[1] The original matrix of the diamonds of Borneo is, as yet, unknown; but, as they are found in alluvial deposits in the beds of certain rivers, and in older alluvial or diluvial deposits, together with gold and platinum, it may be concluded with some probability that all come from the same sources. The platinum is not known to have been met with in the original matrix, but gold has been found *in situ* in Palæozoic rocks.

The most famous and apparently the earliest known diamond mines were situated in West Borneo, in the Districts of Landak and Sangau, while some diamonds are reported to have been obtained in Sarawak. Dr. Posewitz does not refer to their occurrence at Tanjongpura, on the Pawán river, nor in Sukadana, where earlier writers state they were found.

In Southern Borneo the most abundant mines and washings are in the neighbourhood of the Tanahlaut hills, which form the boundary between Southern and Eastern Borneo, near Martapura and Tjempaka? The produce of these localities is best known in connection with the name Banjarmasin, a territory and seaport now held by the Dutch.

It should be added that there are some minor localities in the region between Banjarmasin and Sukadana.

In Eastern Borneo the territory of Kusan, to the east of the Tanahlaut range, also includes some mines.

In British North Borneo there are believed to be some diamond

[1] *Das Diamantvorkommen in Borneo Mith a. d. Jahrb d. K. Geol. Anst.*, Bd. vii, Budapesth, 1885.

bearing localities, but as yet they have not been proved to be of any very great promise.

In connection with the subject of Borneo diamonds, mention is frequently made of a supposed diamond in the possession of the Rájá of Mátan. Its great size, 367 carats, and its reputed value, £269,378, as estimated by Crawfurd, have for many years caused it to be an object of Dutch cupidity, and many stories are told of the efforts made by them to induce the Rájá to part with it. It is stated that early in the century the Rájá was offered 150,000 dollars, two large war brigs fully equipped, besides other war material, in exchange for the diamond; but from superstitious or other reasons he refused to part with this emblem of royalty, and it has never been cut. Hugh Low states that the real diamond was not shown to visitors, but that a rock crystal was kept for the purpose. Dr. Posewitz, however, records that in 1868 the so-called diamond was itself definitely proved to be merely a piece of rock crystal, thus proving the accuracy of Von Gaffron's previous assertion that it could be scratched by corundum, and had a specific gravity of only 2.63 (namely, that of quartz).

Although diamonds weighing up to 70 and even 80 carats have been found in Borneo, for many years past stones of even 4 or 5 caráts have been but rarely met with.

APPENDIX V

The Ruby Mines of Upper Burmah and the Sapphire Washings of Ceylon

Position.—The principal ruby mines of Burmah are situated in three valleys, which are known by the names of their chief villages respectively, namely Mogok (or Mogout), Kathé, and Kyatpyen. The elevated tract including these valleys is situated at a distance of about 90 miles N.N.W. from Mandalay, and is at elevations of from 4000 to 5500 feet above the sea. The mountains surrounding the Mogok valley culminate in the peaks of Chenedoung, 7362 feet, and Toungee, 7775 feet. The ruby tract, as now defined by the most recent scientific examination, occupies an area of 66 square miles, but mining is at present limited to an area of about 45 square miles. The region is described as being very beautiful, and presenting a thriving appearance; but the climate is somewhat malarious, and Europeans, although the country is so elevated, are subject to attacks of fever on first arrival there.

A totally distinct ruby tract is situated in the marble hills at Sagyin, which is only 16 miles from Mandalay. So far as is known, it is comparatively of little importance, the rubies and other gems which are found there being of inferior qualities. Other localities about 15 miles to the north and north-east of Sagyin are reported to produce rubies, but nothing certain is known about them.

History.—The ruby mines of Burmah were first made known by European writers towards the end of the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century there are more definite references by Portuguese travellers, but they are not of much practical importance. Tavernier,[1] as we have seen, gives an account of the mines and their produce from hearsay; from which it would appear that the reputation they then bore was not very high, or he would probably have made

[1] Book II, chap. xix, vol. ii, p. 100.

an effort to visit them. The yield, he says, did not exceed 100,000 *écus* (say £22,500) per annum, and he found it profitable to carry rubies from Europe to Asia for sale.

The principal authorities of the present century previous to the conquest of Upper Burmah are Mr. Crawfurd[1]; the Père Guiseppe d'Amato,[2] who visited the mines about the year 1833; Dr. Oldham,[3] who visited Ava and collected information about the mines in the year 1855, when with Sir Arthur Phayre's mission; Mr. Bredmeyer, who was in the service of the King and visited the mines in the year 1868; and Mr. Spears and Capt. Strover of the British Burmah Commission, both of whom have placed on record their observations. From these authorities we learn that the rubies which were found were generally small, not averaging more than a quarter of a *rati*, and that the large stones were generally smuggled away, but few of them reaching the King. It was supposed that the Chinese and Tartar merchants who visited Mogok and Kyatpyen conveyed most of them out of Burmah. The large rubies were generally flawed, and Mr. Spears states that he never saw one exceeding half a rupee in weight, *i.e.* about 22 carats.

The King's revenue derivable from the monopoly was variously estimated by these authorities at from £12,500 to £15,000. The more recent information now available confirms these estimates. The figures stated on official authority are 90,000 to 100,000 rupees, the highest sum being 150,000 rupees paid in one year. Besides which, however, was the reservation of stones above a certain size; but it seems to be generally admitted that few large stones were found, and of these a proportion, in spite of severe punishments for concealment, never reached the King; there is no basis then for an estimate of the total revenue which he received from the mines.

If one may judge from the appearance of the rubies forming part of the treasure taken at Mandalay, and which are now exhibited at the South Kensington Museum, valuable stones were rare, as, except a few of the smaller ones, none seem to be perfect.

As is well known, recent accounts by experts have represented the prospects of the mines in a much more favourable light, and the true value will probably be ere long ascertained by the energetic operations of a Company conducted on scientific principles.

The different kinds of precious stones found in the mines.—Although

[1] "Mission to Ava," *Edinb. New Phil. Jour.*, 1827, p. 366.

[2] *Jour. As. Socy. Bengal*, vol. ii, p. 75.

[3] Yule's *Mission to Ava*, p. 347.

the rubies have given their name to the mines, several other varieties of corundum are also found, such as sapphires, oriental emeralds, oriental amethyst, oriental topaz, and white sapphires; and besides these there are to be found spinels of various colours, hyacinth (or zircon), iolite (or dichroite, a stone resembling sapphire), and lastly the semi-precious rubellite, which is a variety of the mineral called tourmaline, of which some exceptionally fine examples have been brought from Ava, one of which has long held an honoured position in the mineral collection of the British Museum.

According to Mr. Spears, the proportion of sapphires to rubies was as 1 to 100, but the former are often of large size and fine quality.

Pegu has been mentioned by some early writers[1] as producing diamonds, but there are no real grounds for supposing that either the diamond or true emerald occur in any part of Burmah.

Mode of occurrence and source of the gems.—Although it has for some time been known that the rubies of Sagyin were derived from crystalline limestones or marble, the source of the gems in the principal region at Mogok, Kyatpyen, and Kathé was not actually ascertained till recently, when these localities were visited by Mr. Barrington Brown. It was known that they were for the most part actually obtained in derivative gravels, and it had been inferred that the so-called clefts and lodes, of a report which appeared before his examination, were really fissures in limestones, where the stones had accumulated as the result of the solution of limestone, and by gravitation into these recesses.

Mr. Brown has shown that the geological formation consists of recent deposits of hill wash and alluvium and old crystalline limestones, schists, pegmatite, and other metamorphic rocks. In order to explain the relationship which exists between these formations and the rubies, it will be convenient to describe the various systems of mining, by which the mode of occurrence will be made apparent. The mines, as worked by the natives, may be divided into four classes, as follows:—

I. *Twinlones*, or pits sunk in the alluvium of the valleys.
II. *Mewdwins*, or open cuttings in the hill-wash over which water is led.
III. *Loodwins*, or workings in caves and fissures.

[1] See *Description of the Diamond Mines of India, Phil. Trans.*, vol. xii, 1677, p. 907.

in association with the bones of some extinct animal of very large size.[1]

This description opens up a somewhat wide vista of speculation, and one can hardly resist the temptation of prophesying as to the wonderful discoveries which *may* be made when adits and shafts are driven to afford access to these natural caves and fissures in the mass of the marble hills. In such safe receptacles it is not unreasonable to suppose that stones which have suffered but little from attrition and fracture may be found, and that there the greatest prizes will be obtained.

Quarries.—To the north of Mogok village, at a distance of about three-quarters of a mile, a bed of calcspar in the limestone, which is 20 feet wide, produces rubies, but in order to obtain them the use of powder has to be employed as well as the hammer, and when chipped out the gems are generally more or less fractured; but good stones have been obtained. Whether any method can be devised of avoiding the injury resulting from the use of explosives is at present doubtful. It is not easy to suggest how a firm rock, such as this calcspar, could be mined without recourse being had to violent methods of some kind.

The rose pink rubellite (a variety of tourmaline) is obtained on the margin of the Meobychoung river, 15 miles S. of Mogok and 3 miles from Mamlong. The mines in the alluvium are worked by a rude hydraulic system, and the produce is sent to China, large pieces obtaining a good price.

Under the arrangements which have been made with the New Burmah Ruby Mine Company, the rights and interests of the miners have apparently been very fully safeguarded, but whether the miners on their part will refrain from smuggling and comply with the regulations, and disclose their more valuable finds and submit them to taxation, remains to be seen. The total production of rubies in 1887, when the country was disturbed, amounted to only 42,486 rupees worth, but in the first two months of 1888 21,883 rupees worth had been obtained. Stones of from 5 to 20 carats' weight were sold during this period, and the highest price obtained for one was 500 rupees.

The mode of occurrence of the rubies in calcspar is, I believe, somewhat unusual, though spinel is known to be found in calcareous rocks. It is generally the case that the corundum minerals are

[1] The fossil remains of Mastodons and other large mammalia, allied to those found in the Sivalik hills of India, have long been known to occur in Burmah.

APPENDIX VI

A Review or Abstract in the "Philosophical Transactions" of Chapuzeau's (sic) work, entitled "Histoire des Joyaux," published in 1665; and Note on the English edition of the same work.

THE following is a contemporary abstract published in the *Philosophical Transactions*[1] of a book which seems to be of extraordinary rarity—there being no copy of it, I believe, in any of the great libraries in Great Britain, nor even in the Bibliothéque Nationale—it is therefore of sufficient interest to justify its republication in its original quaint form. But it has in connection with Tavernier a special interest, because from the glimpse of the contents of the book which it affords, we can see that Chapuzeau (or rather Chappuzeau), by whatever means he acquired them, was in possession of many of the facts recorded in Tavernier's *Travels* at least ten years before the *Travels* were published, and while Tavernier was absent on his last journey. None of the biographies of Chappuzeau mention this work; and although I have not failed to make inquiries I have been unable as yet to find any explanation of the mystery.

In Emanuel's bibliography of works on precious stones,[2] the book is mentioned with its full title, and the place and date of publication are given as Geneva 1665.

An Account
Of a small Book in French, entituled
HISTOIRE DES JOYAUX
ET
*Des Principales Richesses de l'*Orient *et de l'*Occident,
par le Sr. Chapuzeau.

This History treats of Diamonds, Rubies, Emeraulds, Pearls, Coral, Bezoar, Yellow Amber, Ambergris, Indigo, &c.

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[1] Vol. ii, 1667, pp. 429-436.

[2] *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, second ed., London, 1867, p. 246.

Concerning *Turquois*, they are found in *Persia*, in the Province *Chamaquay*, north of *Ispahan*, in two Mines, called the *Old* and the *New* Rock. These of the *New*, are of an ill, whitish Blew; but those of the *Old* are not suffered to be digged out, but by the King of *Persia* himself.[1]

Emeraulds are affirmed by him, never to be found in the *East-Indies* but in *Perou*,[2] whence they were carried by that trading people to the *Moluccas*, even before *America* was discovered by the Europeans; and so they come from the Orient; of much less value than they were formerly, by reason of their commonness. The Author notes, that Emeraulds grow in stones, just as Chrystals, forming a Vein, in which they are by little and little refined and thickened: and that some of them are seen, half white and half green: others, all white: and others all green and perfect.

To Pearls he assigns in the *Orient* four places where they are fished: The Isle of *Baharem*, in the *Persian Gulf:* the Coast of *Arabia Felix*, near the Town of *Catif*, over against *Baharem:* the Isle of Ceylon about Manar: the Isle of Japan. The best at *Ceylon*, but small: the biggest at *Japan*, but uneven. In the *West-Indies* they are fished in the *North-Sea*, in the Isles of *Marguerite*, *Cubagua*, *St. Marthe:* and at *Comana*, *Comanagote*, near the Continent: and in the *South-Sea*, near *Panama:* which *American* sort, though they are much inferiour to the *Oriental*, in Lustre, yet they far excel them in bigness, amounting sometimes (saith this *Author*) to 42 *Carats*.[3]

In this Relation 'tis mentioned, that sometimes 5, or 6 *Pearls* are found in one Oyster: That *Pearl-fishers* are fed with dry and roasted meat, to give them better breathing: That Pearl-bearing Oysters are not good to eat, being flat and hard of digestion, &c.

As to the *Price* of good *Pearls*, well fashioned, he marketh it, as follows:

Such a Pearl of			
Grain 1	*Crowns* 1	*Carats* 2	*Crowns* 64
„ 2	„ 4	„ $2\frac{1}{4}$	„ 81
„ 3	„ 9	„ $2\frac{1}{2}$	„ 100
Carats 1	„ 16	„ $2\frac{3}{4}$	„ 121
„ $1\frac{1}{4}$	„ 25	„ 3	„ 144
„ $1\frac{1}{2}$	„ 36	„ $3\frac{1}{4}$	„ 160
„ $1\frac{3}{4}$	„ 49	„ $3\frac{1}{2}$	„ 196

[1] See *ante*, p. 103 of *Travels*. [2] See *ante*, p. 104 of *Travels*.
[3] See *ante*, pp. 107 and 116 of *Travels*.

The English Edition of the "Histoire des Joyaux"

Since the foregoing pages were printed I have had the good fortune to obtain a copy of a small volume entitled *The History of Jewels, and of the Principal Riches of the East and West, Taken from the Relation of Divers of the most Famous Travellers of our Age; Attended with Fair Discoveries conducing to the Knowledge of the Universe and Trade.*[1] Although not stated to be a translation, the identity of its contents with those of Chappuzeau's *Histoire des Joyaux*, as shown by the above abstract, admit of no doubt that it is the same work in an English dress.

Neither Chappuzeau nor Tavernier are mentioned in it; but the internal evidence conclusively proves that it must have been largely founded on Tavernier's original memoirs. If it be the case that Chappuzeau appropriated these without acknowledgment, it would also appear that the English editor pirated Chappuzeau's book.

A general resemblance of facts alone would not prove Tavernier to have been the original author, but the *History* casually refers to certain dates in connection with places where we know Tavernier to have been in the same years. Thus on p. 26 reference is made to Mir Jumlá and his occupation at Gandikot in the year 1652, *i.e.* when Tavernier visited him (see vol. i, p. 284). On p. 23 the depreciated condition of the diamond mines at Kollur in the year 1660 is referred to, and Tavernier alludes (see *ante*, p. 75) to a falling off in the number of miners since his first visit, and we have otherwise seen that he had visited the mines in 1660 (see vol. i, Introduction, p. xxiii. On p. 123 the facts stated in reference to bezoar are substantially the same as Tavernier's own personal record (see p. 148 *ante*). Tavernier's personal stories about Bohemian rubies (see p. 103 *ante*) and a living worm in dead coral (see p. 134 *ante*) are both in the *History*, pp. 60 and 106.

Short as it is, the *History* contains some facts not given in the *Travels*, but they, for the most part, do not refer to India.

Of facts given in the *History* which are omitted accidentally or are misprinted in the *Travels*, some, as will be seen, confirm corrections and additions already made in the footnotes on preceding pages. On p. 24 of the *History* we find the name of the diamond

[1] London, printed by T. N. for Hobart Kemp, etc., 1671, small 8vo, pp. 128.

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